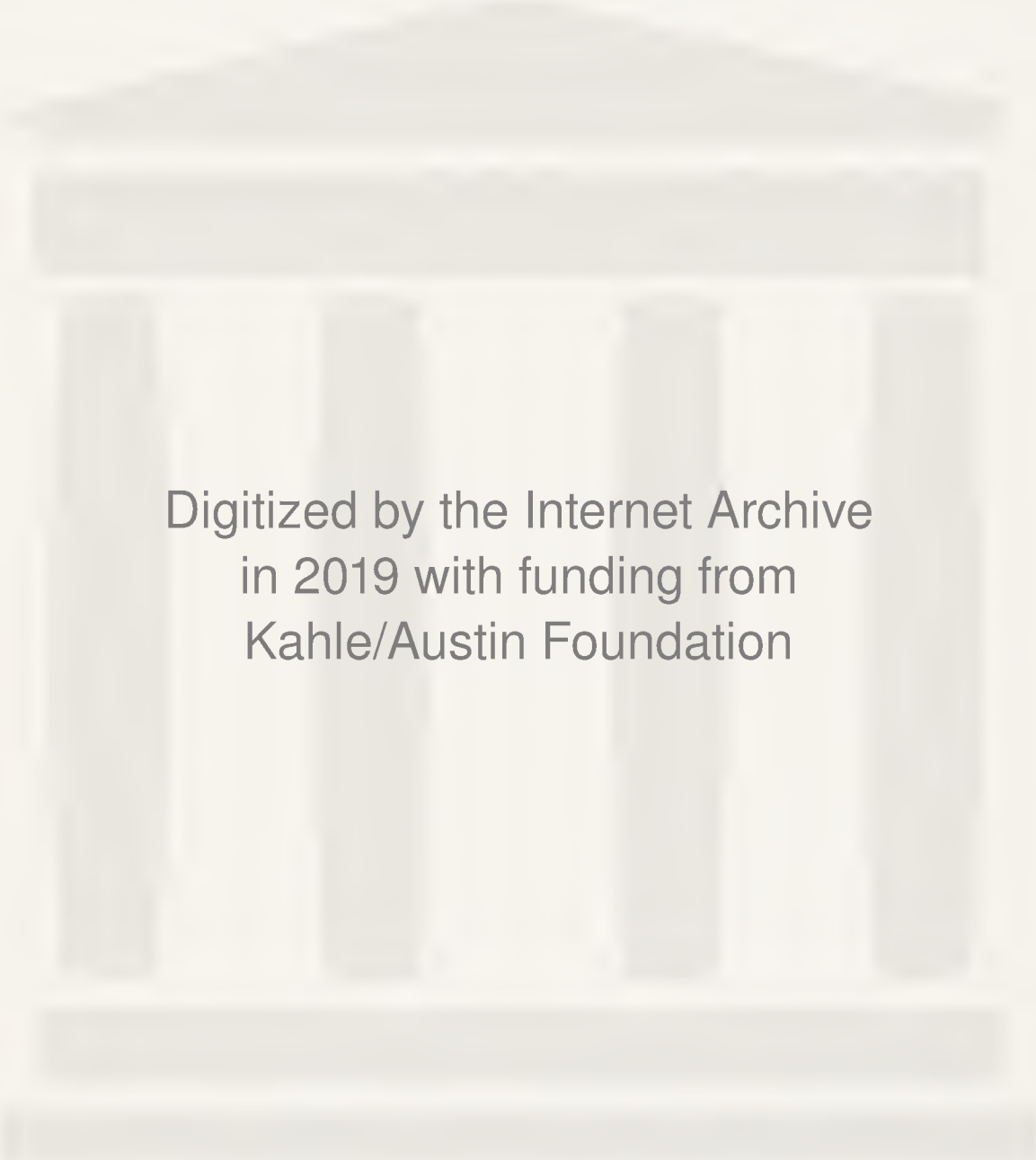


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THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME XLV

THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME XLV

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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PREFACE

AMONG its literary texts this Part contains eleven not previously known. Of the literary and dramatic fragments four are by the hand of Mr. E. Lobel (3211-13, 3215), and four by Dr. M. W. Haslam (3209-10, 3214, 3216; preliminary copies of 3209-10 were made by Mr. Lobel). Two fragments of New Comedy (3217-18) have been contributed by Dr. Susan Stephens. The prose work of literary criticism entitled 'Treatise on Plato?' (3219) is a revised form of Dr. Haslam's edition of this text in *BICS* 19 (1972). Professor M. L. West has transcribed and commented on thirteen fragments of Hesiod's *Erga* and *Aspis* (3220-32). Drs. Haslam, Stephens, and Weinstein, respectively, have made themselves responsible for two rhetorical declamations (3235-6); a piece of Isocrates (3233) and two Homeric glossaries (3237-8); a fragment of Thucydides (3234) and an idiosyncratic alphabetic glossary (3239).

The same trio have undertaken a considerable bulk of the documentary publication. One group of texts (3254-62) may be specially singled out for notice. The work of Dr. Stephens, they not only introduce a new archive of the early fourth century, but they also illustrate the technique of growing and processing flax. Dr. M. A. H. El-Abadi has worked on three documents (3242, 3250, 3251), and Dr. A. K. Bowman makes public a second instalment (the first being in Part XLIV) of the texts already used as sources in his book *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*.

The general editors would like to thank the Oxford University Printer for his accustomed care. Mr. Parsons compiled the indexes for the literary sections, Dr. Rea those for the documents. Dr. W. E. H. Cockle has given help in cleaning some of the texts and in proof reading.

P. J. PARSONS
J. R. REA
E. G. TURNER
General Editors,
Graeco-Roman Memoirs

July 1976

CONTENTS

PREFACE	v
TABLE OF PAPYRI	ix
LIST OF PLATES	xi
NUMBERS AND PLATES	xi
NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS	xii
NOTE ON INVENTORY NUMBERS	xii
NOTE ON THE TERMS 'RECTO' AND 'VERSO', ETC.	xiii
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PUBLISHED PAPYRI	xv

TEXTS

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS (3209-3219)	I
II. EXTANT CLASSICAL TEXTS (3220-3234)	40
III. SUB-LITERARY TEXTS (3235-3239)	68
IV. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS (3240-3249)	98
V. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS (3250-3253)	121
VI. DOCUMENTS FROM THE ARCHIVE OF LEONIDES (3254-3262)	129
VII. MINOR TEXT (3263)	144
VIII. TEXTS FIRST PUBLISHED ELSEWHERE (3264-3266)	145

INDEXES

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS	
(a) ALCMAN, ETC. (3209-3213)	149
(b) EURIPIDES, ETC. (3214-3216)	150
(c) MENANDER, ETC. (3217-3218)	151
(d) ROMANCE (?) (3218 <i>back</i>) and TREATISE ON PLATO (?) (3219)	152
II. SUB-LITERARY TEXTS	
(a) DECLAMATIONS (3235-3236)	153
(b) HOMERIC GLOSSARIES (3237-3238)	
(i) Homeric forms glossed	155
(ii) Glosses	157
(c) GLOSSARY (?) (3239)	159

III. EMPERORS AND REGNAL YEARS	160
IV. CONSULS	161
V. MONTHS	161
VI. PERSONAL NAMES	162
VII. GEOGRAPHICAL	
(a) Countries, Nomes, Toparchies, Cities, etc.	165
(b) Villages, etc.	165
(c) Miscellaneous	165
VIII. RELIGION	165
IX. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES	166
X. PROFESSIONS, TRADES, AND OCCUPATIONS	166
XI. MEASURES	
(a) Weights and Measures	166
(b) Money	166
XII. TAXES	167
XIII. GENERAL INDEX OF WORDS	167

TABLE OF PAPYRI

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

3209.	Alcman, <i>Méληη</i> , vi	MWH	2nd cent.†	1
3210.	Commentary on Alcman?	MWH	1st cent.	6
3211.	Lyric Verses	EL	2nd cent.	12
3212.	Lyric Verses	EL	2nd cent.	13
3213.	Lyric Verses in 'Doric'	EL	2nd cent.	14
3214.	Anthology (Euripides)	MWH	2nd cent.	18
3215.	Tragic Trimeters	EL	2nd cent.	21
3216.	Tragedy	MWH	2nd cent.	24
3217.	Menander, <i>Sicyonius</i>	SS	1st cent.	26
3218.	New Comedy	SS	1st cent.	27
3219.	Treatise on Plato?	MWH	2nd cent.	29

II. EXTANT CLASSICAL TEXTS

3220.	Hesiod, <i>Erga</i> and <i>Aspis</i>	MLW	2nd cent.	40
3221.	Hesiod, <i>Erga</i> , 93 [?] -108	MLW	2nd/3rd cent.	47
3222.	Hesiod, <i>Erga</i> , 144-56	MLW	3rd cent.	48
3223.	Hesiod, <i>Erga</i> , 172-215, 228-45 . .	MLW	2nd cent.	48
3224.	Hesiod, <i>Erga</i> , 179-95	MLW	2nd cent.	51
3225.	Hesiod, <i>Erga</i> , 265-79	MLW	2nd cent.	52
3226.	Hesiod, <i>Erga</i> , 311-16, 345-53, 414-19, 421-2, 432-6, 441-3 . . .	MLW	2nd/3rd cent.	53
3227.	Hesiod, <i>Erga</i> , 415, 421-35, 440-53	MLW	2nd/3rd cent.	54
3228.	Hesiod, <i>Erga</i> , 511-29	MLW	2nd cent.	56
3229.	Hesiod, <i>Erga</i> , 670-4, 686-716, 743-56	MLW	2nd cent.	57
3230.	Hesiod, <i>Erga</i> , 293-301, 763-4, 78 (or 789), 1-13	MLW	1st cent.	59
3231.	Hesiod, <i>Erga</i> , 225-45	MLW	2nd/3rd cent.	61
3232.	Hesiod, <i>Aspis</i> , 325-30	MLW	1st cent.	62
3233.	Isocrates, <i>Antidosis</i> , 66-80	SS	1st/2nd cent.	62
3234.	Thucydides, Bk. I 73. 4-74. 3 . . .	MEW	1st/2nd cent.	65

III. SUB-LITERARY TEXTS

3235.	Rhetorical Declamation	MWH	3rd cent.	68
3236.	Rhetorical Declamation	MWH	3rd cent.	74
3237.	Glossary to Homer, <i>Il.</i> i 302-23 . .	SS	3rd cent.	79

† All dates are A.D.

TABLE OF PAPYRI

3238.	Glossary to Homer, <i>Il.</i> i-ii	SS	3rd cent.	82
3239.	Alphabetic 'Glossary'	MEW	2nd cent.	90

IV. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

3240.	Official Correspondence	MEW	c. 88/9	98
3241.	Notifications to Tax-farmers	MWH	11 Feb. 163.	99
3242.	Declaration of Property	MAHEA	185-7	103
3243.	Report to a Prefect of Egypt	MWH	214/15	105
3244.	Oath of Office	AKB	3 Dec. 228	108
3245.	Report of a Public Physician	AKB	297	111
3246.	Fragment of a Petition	AKB	297/8 (?)	114
3247.	Fragment of a Petition	AKB	16 Aug. 298	115
3248.	Fragment of an Official Diary	AKB	3rd cent.	117
3249.	Nomination to a Liturgy	AKB	Sept.-Dec. 326	118

V. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

3250.	Freight Contract	MAHEA	c. 63	121
3251.	Acknowledgement of Indebtedness	MAHEA	2nd/3rd cent.	124
3252.	Deed of Surety	AKB	257/8	125
3253.	Letter of Zoilus to Horion	MEW	3rd/4th cent.	127

VI. DOCUMENTS FROM THE ARCHIVE OF LEONIDES

3254.	Sale of Flax	SS	312-15	130
3255.	Application for Lease	SS	6 Nov. 315	132
3256.	Application for Lease	SS	317/18	134
3257.	Application for Lease	SS	10 Nov. 318	135
3258.	Application for Lease	SS	319	137
3259.	Lease of Land	SS	319	138
3260.	Sub-lease of Land	SS	323	139
3261.	Contract concerning Recruits	SS	324	140
3262.	Receipt?	SS	328	142

VII. MINOR TEXT

3263.	Monthly Report of Village Scribe	JRR	215	144
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VIII. TEXTS FIRST PUBLISHED ELSEWHERE

3264.	Declaration about Bribery	AKB	80/1	145
3265.	Declaration by Glassworkers	AKB	June/July 326	146
3266.	Acknowledgement of a Loan	AKB	13 Aug. 337	146

AKB = A. K. Bowman

MAHEA = M. A. H. El-Abbadi

MWH = M. W. Haslam

EL = E. Lobel

JRR = J. R. Rea

SS = S. Stephens

MEW = M. E. Weinstein

MLW = M. L. West

LIST OF PLATES

I. 3209 fr. 1-6	V. 3229
II. 3210	VI. 3239, 3243 fr. 2-4
III. 3211, 3212, 3213, 3215	VII. 3243 fr. 1
IV. 3214, 3216, 3217, 3218	VIII. 3250

NUMBERS AND PLATES

3209 fr. 1-6	I	3217	IV
3210	II	3218	IV
3211	III	3229	V
3212	III	3239	VI
3213	III	3243 fr. 1	VII
3214	IV	3243 fr. 2-4	VI
3215	III	3250	VIII
3216	IV		

NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XLIV. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of letters lost are printed slightly below the line. The texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, etc., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [[]] a deletion, the signs ` ` an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. Lastly, heavy Arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (1968). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

NOTE ON INVENTORY NUMBERS

The inventory numbers in general follow a set pattern, of the form 20 3B.37/D (3)a. Here '20' is the number of the present cardboard box; '3B' refers to Grenfell and Hunt's third campaign at Oxyrhynchus; '37' is the series number given within that year to the metal packing box; 'D' indicates a layer of papyri inside that box. A few inventory numbers have the form A. B.3.2/A(6); these refer to a separate series of boxes.

NOTE ON THE TERMS
'RECTO' AND 'VERSO', 'FRONT' AND 'BACK'
AND THE USE OF ARROWS (\rightarrow , \downarrow)

THE terms 'recto' and 'verso' are strictly applicable to papyrus only in those cases (which are in a minority) where a recognizable part of a roll is preserved. If there is doubt whether a roll can be recognized, the terms used here are 'front' and 'back', in conjunction with arrows placed beside the first line of the text to indicate the direction of the fibres in relation to the writing. A horizontal arrow (\rightarrow) means that the fibres run in the same direction as the lines of writing; a vertical arrow (\downarrow) means that the fibres run at right angles to the lines of writing.

To avoid confusion it must be stressed that an arrow of this sort refers always to the relationship of the writing to the surface on which it stands, that is, the vertical arrow is not used simply to indicate the back of papyrus which has on the front a text running parallel with the fibres. It means that the writing of the text on the side in question runs at right angles to the fibres. The addresses of letters and other endorsements are often written parallel with the fibres on the back, while the main text is written parallel with the fibres on the front. It will be readily understood that because of the method of manufacture of papyrus sheets this means that the endorsement runs at right angles to the text on the front. However, since an arrow refers only to a single surface, such an endorsement will be preceded by the note 'Back \rightarrow '.

These signs can be applied to codices, since in them the writing is normally only horizontal across the page. The arrow in horizontal position \rightarrow will therefore indicate a page of a codex in which the fibres run in the same direction as the writing, horizontally; an arrow in a vertical position will mean that the writing, if horizontal, crosses the fibres, which are by inference vertical. It is necessary to set this point out explicitly since the basis of use of the signs $\rightarrow \downarrow$ is not that laid down in P. Antinoopolis III p. xii; and a theoretical defect of the new basis is that it cannot be used to describe a page of a codex which bears no writing.

When the terms 'recto' and 'verso' are applied to parchment codices, it is proposed to retain the time-honoured meanings 'recto' = a right-hand page, 'verso' = a left-hand page.



ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PAPYRI
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- I 32 (= Ch.L.A. IV 267) 28-30. Read and restore:
*opto te felicissim[um (domine?) mul-
tis annis cum [tuis (omnibus?)
(vac.)] ben[e] valere.* See *BASP* 13 (1976) 53-4.
- 50 3. Expand προπ(ρατικοῦ). See *XLV* 3241 8 n (p. 103).
- 61 1-3. Restore:
[Αὐρήλιος Καραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλωνια-]
[ὁ]ς γενο[μέ]νος [στρα(τηγός) Ἀρσι(νοίτου)]
νυὶ στρα[τ]ηγός Ἐ[ρ]μοπολίτου. See *JEA* 38 (1952) 88 n. 6.
19. Expand κύμβολ(ον). See *XLV* 3241 introd., p. 100.
- 103 2. For πρυτανε[ύ]ονται read πρυτανε[ύ]σαντι. See *XLIV* 3188 introd., para. 2.
- 157 3. By τοιςφωβου^ψ understand τῆς Φοβώου. See *Festschrift z. 150jährigen Bestehen d. berl. äg. Museums (Staatl. Mus. Berl.: Mitteil. aus d. äg. Sammlung VIII)*, 346, n. 17. Cf. *BL* VI 95.
A photograph shows that for φωβου^ψ we should read Φωβ'ώ'ου (= Φοβώου).
J. R. Rea.
- 170 (Description). Re-edited in *BASP* 13 (1976) 17-29.
- II 276 (= CPJ II 422 = S. Daris, *Documenti per la storia dell'esercito*, No. 68) 12. For Δερμειθῶν read Μερμέρθων. Z. Borkowski; confirmed from a photograph. Delete Δερμειθαι from A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici*, ii 2, p. 97, and Δερμειθῶν κώμη from *WB* III p. 292.
- 289 2, 12, 15, etc. Expand the abbreviation λπ more probably to Λ(υκίων) Π(αρεμβολῆς) than to λ(αύρας) Π(οιμενικῆς), cf. *ibid.* introd. See *CPR* V 1. 5 n.
- 304 (= SB X 10246) 12-13. For τὸ πᾶν προκείμενον κεφάλαιον read τὸ μὲν π. κ. See *XLIV* 3198 14 ff. n.
- 305 (= SB X 10222) 18-19. Read ἀκύρων οὐκῶ[ν καὶ ὦν] ἐὰν ἐπενέγ[κ]ωσιν π[ί]στεων πασῶ[ν]. See *ZPE* 19 (1975) 268-9.
- 310 (Description = SB X 10247) 2. Between διαγ(εγράφηκεν) and γε(ρδιακοῦ) insert ὑπ(έρ).
For (ἔτους) α read α (ἔτους).
4. Between μαθ(ητής) and διά insert α (ἔτους).
See *ZPE* 19 (1975) 265-6.
320. Re-edited in *ZPE* 16 (1975) 309-14.
- III 413 162. For τῆ πλατ(ε)ία θύρα read τῆ πλαγία θύρα. See *CPR* V 17. 8 n.
- IV 722 27. For Ἀχ[ιλλεῖ] read and restore Ἡρ[ακλῆ].
30. For οὐδ' ἐπιε[] read and restore οὐδὲ μέ[ρους] τρόπῳ οὐδενί. See *ZPE* 20 (1976) 59.
- VI 891 11. The suggestion θέρ[μ]ας, made in a footnote to *XXXI* 2569 (pp. 117-18), is withdrawn. Closer inspection has shown that what was taken for the descender of rho is a riser from an extravagant flourish on the xi of ἐξηγητοῦ in 10, which descends to touch 12 and rises again almost to touch 11. J. R. Rea.
- VII 1016. The *terminus post quem* for this manuscript of Plato, *Phaedrus*, has been raised to A.D. 235 by the re-dating of the *recto* (VII 1044). See *ZPE* 21 (1976) 14.

- 1031 22. For ἡμιαρτάβω read ἡμιαρταβίω. This reference is given under μέτρον ἡμιαρτάβιον in WB III p. 362 col. ii, but the correction is not in BL I-VI or in *W. Chr.* 343. Delete ἡμιαρταβος from LSJ. J. R. Rea.
1044. Extensively corrected and re-dated to A.D. 235 in *ZPE* 21 (1976) 1-13.
- VIII 1081. See H. W. Attridge, *P. Oxy. 1081 and the Sophia Jesu Christi*, in *Enchoria* 5 (1975) 1-8.
- 1104 13-14. For τὸν τῶν πολειτικῶν [ἐπί-]/τροπον read τὸν τῶν πολειτικῶν / τραπέζι(ίτην).
21. For τ. () read τρα(πεζίτης). See XLIV 3193 introd.
- 1116 5. For ἀμφόδογ read φυλή[ς]. See *HSCP* 79 (1975) 17 n. 50.
- 1127 15. Read τῷ τε (over, probably, δέ) τόπω καὶ τῷ περιστερέωνι. J. R. Rea.
- IX 1204 2. For Ζηνογένει read Ζηναγένει. See XLV 3246 introd.
25. See under XLIII 3105 3-4.
- X 1249. See J. Vaio, *Babrius* 110. 3-4, in *Philologus* 117 (1973) 140-1.
- XII 1405 5. See under XLIII 3105 3-4.
1496. Dated to 5 Probus = A.D. 279/80. See A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils*, 133 n. 9.
- XIV 1631. See under XL 2895 i 19-20.
- XVI 1910 24. For δικαίου τοῖς τεταρτομοι(ρίταις) read δικαίου τοῖς (= τῆς) τεταρτομοι(ρίαις). See *Festschrift z. 150jährigen Bestehen d. berl. äg. Museums (Staatl. Mus. Berl.: Mitteil. aus d. äg. Sammlung VIII)*, 345-6. Cf. BL VI 104.
1926. See H. C. Youtie, *Questions to a Christian Oracle*, in *ZPE* 18 (1975) 253-57, with Plate VIII.
4. For τραπέζι(ης?) read τραπέζι(τίας) or τραπέζι(ιτίας).
5. For ζυγοστασίας the papyrus has ζυγοστασίας. Ibid.
- XVII 2108 1. Read *Σπα[ρτιάτης ὁ καὶ Χαί]ρήμων*. See XXXI 2560 2 n.
2121 2. For κωμάρχου restore κωμογραμματέως.
84. For κω(μάρχης) expand κω(μογραμματεύς). See *Le monde grec: Hommages à Claire Préaux* 782 n. Cf. BL VI 105.
- XVIII 2162 fr. 1(a) i 3; 13-17; 34-6. See *ZPE* 19 (1975) 99-100.
- XX 2256 fr. 3. See A. Deman, *Eschyle et les crues du Nil*, in *Le monde grec: Hommages à Claire Préaux* 115-26.
- XXII 2333. See T. J. Fleming, *Ancient Evidence for the Colometry of Aeschylus' Septem*, in *GRBS* 16 (1975) 141-8, with one plate.
2336. See F. Ferrari, *Euripide, Elena* 634-45, in *Riv. fil.* 103 (1975) 385-93.
2343 7. Restore [ἐξεκ]αλεσάμην.
8. Read and restore ἐ]γεγύησα καὶ ἐδίδαξάμην . . . ῥήτορα, 'I put down a surety and instructed . . . an advocate.' See CPR V 5. 3 n. (p. 11 ftn. 1).
- 2347 15. For Ἀπίων read Ἀττίων (written ατ'τιων). Read the same name in P. Mert. I 36. 22, i.e. for *Καττᾶς Εὐσταθίου*(ν), sic, read Α[ῦ]ρ(ήλιος) Ἀττίων (written ατ'τιων) *Εὐποθίου*. The same person occurs in PSI IX 1078. 32, as pointed out in *ZPE* 18 (1975) 213, but the name was doubtless Ἀττίων again, rather than Ἀπίων. J. R. Rea.
17. For ἐκ() read ἐγρ(άφη). See *ZPE* 18 (1975) 213-14.
- XXIII 2380 2. Read and restore κάλ]λιςτον τὸ [δικαιότατον, λῶιστον δ' ὑγιαίνειν. If correct, this means that the verse, Theognis 255, was deeply indented, and the indentation is probably to be connected with the beginning of a new section. See *ZPE* 19 (1975) 178-9.
- XXIV 2384. Two fragments possibly from the same codex of Matthew are published in *Prometheus* 1 (1975) 195-200.

- XXVI 2438. See I. Gallo, *Una nuova biografia di Pindaro* (P. Oxy. 2438), Salerno, 1968.
 2450. See D. C. Kurtz, *The Man-eating Horses of Diomedes in Poetry and Painting*, in *JHS* 95 (1975) 171–2 and Pl. XVIII.
- XXVII 2455. Notes on fragments 5, 7, and 19 in *BASP* 13 (1976) 77–9.
 2460 fr. 5 *recto*. For Δ[ι]οκκούρ[ου] read Δ[ι]οκκουρ[ι]. The name Διόκκουρος is exceedingly rare; Διοκκουρίδης is much more likely. J. R. Rea.
- XXXII 2617. See D. L. Page, *Stesichorus: The Geryoneis* (P. Oxy. 2617), in *JHS* 93 (1973) 138–54.
 2619. See D. L. Page, *Stesichorus: 'The Sack of Troy' and 'The Wooden Horse'* (P. Oxy. 2619 and 2803), in *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.* NS 19 (1973) 47–65.
- XXXIV 2715 2. The first copy should have τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου) restored after Ε[ὐδοίου]. The second copy actually has τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου), cramped and very faded. Suggested by J. C. Shelton; confirmed from the originals.
 In 2 n. delete the vertical rule after Φλαουί[ου].
 2729 6–7. For *σαπρά* cf. *JRS* 60 (1970) 47 and n. 72, referring to Arrian, *Epictet.* IV, 5, 17, where a coin is rejected as *σαπρός*, because it is Nero's, though it is of greater value than one of Trajan which is accepted.
- XXXVII 2803. See under XXXII 2619.
 2820. See *GRBS* 16 (1975) 295–303 for a new assessment by N. Lewis, using the following new readings:
 4. For [. . .]νων read ἰκανῶν. R. A. Coles. A very small trace to the left of]ν near the foot suits only a diagonal, e.g. of α. Most of the gap is occupied by the arms of κ and the main part of α.
 10–11. For εξ/ηει, ε read ἐξήρηγε. J. R. Rea.
- XXXVIII 2843 25. For ἐξῆρους(?) read μέρους. See *ZPE* 20 (1976) 58–60.
 2861 9–10 n. In the third sentence for 'former' read 'converse'. J. D. Thomas.
- XXXIX 2878, 2879, 2881, 2883, and 2891. Notes by D. L. Page in *CQ* 23 (1973) 199–201.
- XL Introd. p. 6. The wrong equation 5 *modii* = 1 *artaba* is based on bad arithmetic, see *ZPE* 13 (1974) 195–6. On the sizes of the various *modius* and *artaba* measures see now *ZPE* 21 (1976) 43–62.
 2895 i 19–20. For Τ. . . κλ. . . ιων read Τι(βέριος) Κλ(αύδιος) Ὁρίων, who also appears in XIV 1631 39. See *ZPE* 18 (1975) 215–16. (Note that, contrary to what is stated there, no papyrus has been lost. A piece was inadvertently folded under when Plate I was made. The remains are fully consistent with the suggested reading. J. R. Rea.)
 Another reference to the same person in P. Gen. inv. 244. 54–5 (*ZPE* 12 (1973) 80) is pointed out in *ZPE* 21 (1976) 15.
 2904 5. For Ταμίτιος read Τααμίτιος. See *CR* 26 (1976) 111.
 2916 5. The suggestion οἰκῶ[ν] for οἰκί[αν], made in *CR* 26 (1976) 111, is excluded by the traces of the doubtful letter which has a longish descender. J. R. Rea.
 2925 1. Perhaps equate κανανικλαρίωι with Latin *canaliclarius/canalicularius*. See *BASP* 13 (1976) 49–52.
- XLII 3006 10. For parallels see *ZPE* 16 (1975) 76.
 3028 introd. para. 3. The practice of keeping grain on the threshing-floor till government commitments were met is now attested by P. Petaus 53 of A.D. 184/5, over 100 years earlier than X 1255. J. C. Shelton.
 3030 3 n. (p. 94 para. 3). In the list of receipts after '131/2 P. Tebt. 361;' add '143/4 BGU I 299;'. J. C. Shelton.
 3036–45 introd. Add PUG I 19 to the table of receipts for ἐπικεφάλαιον πόλεως. See *Rev. hist. de droit franç. et étr.* 53 (1975) 511. (The plate (PUG Tav. XI) allows the possibility of reading the date in line 4 as θ' [κ]αὶ ζ' = A.D. 314/15 instead of ἱγ' [καὶ] ā

- = A.D. 304/5. The Athenodorus who signed the receipt is presumably the systates of that name who appears in PSI V 462 of A.D. 314/15. J. R. Rea.)
- 3051 7. For *Κενεκ[ι]ανῆς* read *Κενεκανῆς*, cf. P. Hamb. I 3, 9 n. J. C. Shelton.
3068. Re-interpreted in *ZPE* 19 (1975) 280-1.
- XLIII 3097 translation (p. 28). Before 'to undertake' insert 'immediately'. See *AJP* 97 (1976) 190.
- 3104 2 n. *ad fin.* For XX 2273 1 read XXVII 2473 1.
- 3105 3-4. For *ελ./.[.]* read probably *ελα/μ[ε]νφ*. So also in XII 1405 5 restore probably *ε[λα]μέφω*. See IX 1204 25 with BL I 333 *τῶ ἐλαμ[ε]νφ αὐτόν εἰς τὴν δεκαπρωτείαν*. A photograph shows that the space requires the restoration of *αὐτόν* as Wilcken suggested. For *εἰλάμην* etc. see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, 154 (§ 318. 2). J. R. Rea.
- 3117 6. For *τῶ φ* the suggestion *τῶ Ζερήνφ*, made in *AJP* 97 (1976) 190, does not appear to suit the traces. J. R. Rea.
18. Restore e.g. *διακειμέ]νας*. See *AJP* 97 (1976) 190.
19. Restore e.g. *ἀξιούσα]*. Ibid.
- 3121 introd. Add to the table on p. 81 the price of gold in A.D. 301 found in the new fragments of Diocletian's price edict, 72,000 *denarii*. See R. and F. Naumann, *Der Rundbau in Aezani* (1973), 57; M. Giacchero, *Edictum Diocletiani*, 114-15. Cf. H. Temporini, etc., *Aufstieg u. Niedergang d. röm. Welt*, II ii, 593 addendum. T. C. Skcat.
- 3121 8 n. Add a reference to *ZPE* 18 (1975) 308, where attention is drawn to another occurrence of the title *ὁ ἐπιφανέστατος παῖς* = *nobilissimus puer*, used this time of Flavius Honorius, consul A.D. 386 and future emperor.
- 3123 18. For *τὸ β',] τρις μ[ε]λλουσι] ὑπάτοις* read probably *τὸ β', μ[ε]λλ[ουσι] ὑπάτοις*. Dr. Dieter Hagedorn pointed out that none of the parallels, collected by him in *ZPE* 10 (1973) 131-4, has the article. The traces are very badly damaged, but the lack of space confirms that *τοῖς* did not appear here either. J. R. Rea.
3138. The word *ὀρθογράφος* occurs also in *Archiv* 2 (1902-3) p. 219 l. 26 in a Christian sub-literary text. C. H. Roberts.
8. For *π . . (vac.)* the suggestion *πα(ρά)*, made in *AJP* 97 (1976) 190, does not appear to satisfy the traces. J. R. Rea.
3140. In the last line of the translation (p. 118) for 'Sarapion' read 'Serenus', see text line 12.
- 3150 7 n. Add a reference to Aurelia Tarilla daughter of Philadelphus in P. Merton III 124 of A.D. 520. She is clearly distinct from Tarilla d. of Praous in XVI 1995 of A.D. 542 and also not particularly likely to be identical with the Tarilla in 3150. J. R. Rea.
- XLIV 3169 60, 92. For *Πνεφερρόιτος* read *Τνεφερρόιτος*, a woman's name. Correct translation and index accordingly. J. R. Rea.
- P. Fay. 39. 1-2. For *μικρωτῆ τέλους ἱερο(ῦ) Βουκόλ(ων)* read *μικρωτῆ τέλους ἱεροβουκόλ(ων)*. See *ZPE* 16 (1975) 77-9.
- 203 = P. Cair. Preisigke 1. Another scrap is now published in *JJP* 18 (1974) 187.
- P. Hibeh II 205. On the date see *ZPE* 16 (1975) 292-4.
- 276 (= CPL 260). 5. Expand *leg(ati) n(ostri)* rather than *leg(ionis) n(ostrae)*. See *Le monde grec: Hommages à Claire Préaux* 773-4.
- P. Tebt. II 304. 8-9. For *μη[.]δ[.]ένα λόγον ἀητίαν κυ<ν>ῆψαν* read *μη δὲ<ν> ἄλογον ἀητίαν κυ<ν>ῆψαν*, equivalent to *μοὶ δὲ ἄλογον ἀητίαν κυ<ν>ῆψαν*. See *ZPE* 18 (1975) 75-6.
- 371 (Description). Text in *ZPE* 16 (1975) 51-4.
392. 38. For *Ἀγαθῆς* read *Καγαθῆς*. See *ZPE* 21 (1976) 16.
- 441 (Description). Text in *ZPE* 16 (1975) 55-8.
- 449 (Description). Text in *ZPE* 16 (1975) 47-50.
- 524 (Description). Text in *ZPE* 16 (1975) 59-62.
- 622 (Description). Text in *ZPE* 16 (1975) 54-5.

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

3209. ALCMAN, *Μέλη* vi

39 3B.78/L(1)a

Fr. 1, 8 × 16 cm.; fr. 2, 4.5 × 9.4 cm.

Second century

An end-title reveals these scraps to be remnants of a roll of bk. 6 of the *μέλη* of Alcman. The identification is due to Dr. Rea. An ambiguous notice in the Suda apart (see below), this is the first testimony of the sixth book of *μέλη*; on the basis of that notice, one supposes it to be the final such book. The papyrus gives us suggestive remains of the last few lines, most substantially of the last two, but their precise import is hidden.

The metre is of some interest. Five out of the last seven lines (fr. 1) have their first few syllables more or less intact:

3 κλέος φερ[	υ-υ [(or less likely υ-- [])
4 ζκαίροισα τ[	--υ [(or less likely --- [])
6 δ δ' εὐθὺς . [	υ-υ [(or υ-- [])
8 ἀχὼ δ' ἀφ' ὑψηλῶ[	--υ---- [
9(<i>ult.</i>) δόμων ἀπ' ἄκρω[	υ-υ-- [

We may synthesize as $\times - \cup - \frac{\times}{\times} -$.¹ The uniformity is remarkable. The following citations may be compared:—

(1) A restoration of PMG 2 (iv) (XXIV 2389 fr. 3(a)) 3-7 giving three and a half consecutive iambic tetrameters was suggested by Barrett (*Gnomon* 33 (1961) 685); the incorporated lemma is said by ps.-Herodian to have occurred *ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ ᾠδῇ* ('no doubt of Bk. 1' Lobel: this is supported by the context of the citation). PMG 15 (bk. 1?) may be a single such verse. Cf. PMG 92(d), PMG 79.

(2) PMG 59(a) consists of two consecutive iambic trimeters catalectic, $\frac{\times}{\times} - \cup - \times | - \cup - \cup - -$ (*ἐν τινι τῶν μελῶν*, Archytas ὁ ἀρμονικός ap. Chamaeleon ap. Athen. xiii 60of). So does PMG 96 ($\frac{\times}{\times} - \cup - \frac{\times}{\times} | \cup \cup \cup - \cup - -$, Athen. xiv 648b); and PMG 30 is a single one ($\frac{\times}{\times} - \cup - \frac{\times}{\times} | - \cup - \cup - -$, Aristid. *or.* 28. 51, II 158 Keil). PMG 19 is a sequence of three and a half lines of the same quantitative structure, $\times - \cup - \times - \cup - \cup - -$, but with caesura after the fifth element in only one of the verses (Athen. iii 11of): *Ἀλκμάν ἐν τῶι ἰε cod. A* (om. CE?), corr. to *ε'* Schweighaeuser. (Assigned to the same poem as PMG 96 by Wilamowitz.)

(3) PMG 14 has three otherwise unconnected lines of the form $\times - \cup - \cup | - \times - \cup - -$, analysed by Heliodorus as a catalectic iambic trimeter of a type admitting a spondee in the fourth foot. At least one of these lines occurred in company with

¹ $\frac{\times}{\times}$ means presumed anceps element occupied in the given instance by a long syllable; similarly \cup . \times signifies that \cup and $-$ are both attested.

dactylic cola; the fourth-foot alternation is attested 'in primo' (sc. *libro*, one presumes; Priscian III 428 Keil). Cf. the lemma of the beginning of a poem at PMG 5 (XXIV 2390) fr. 2 i 22-3 as supplemented by Page, cè *Mō*]ζα λίσσομαι π[αντ]ῶν μάλιστα.

(4) One of several lengths labelled 'alcmaticum' by Servius is the 'iambic trimeter brachycatalectic', $\bar{x} - \cup - \bar{x} | - \cup - \bar{x} -$, PMG 161(c); cf. PMG 174.

(5) PMG 20 consists of four and a half consecutive iambic dimeters, $\bar{x} - \cup - \times - \cup -$: ἐν τῷ ε', Athen. x 416d. PMG 110 and 121 are single such lines. PMG 59(b) has another, with different but allied cola fore and aft.

(6) The metrical structure of PMG 89 is uncertain, but it contains several cola which begin with iambic movement, as well as several which do not. Cf. PMG 41, PMG 16.

For the iambo-trochaic (rather than *κατὰ μέτρον* iambic) nature of some of these lengths, see A. M. Dale, *CQ* 13 (1963) 48-9 (= *Collected Papers*, 117-18).

There is no proof that cola of different movement were not used in this final strophe or poem, but the papyrus gives strong presumptive evidence. The uniformity points in fact to composition *κατὰ στίχον*. On the one hand we have the several sequences of identical iambic cola listed under (1), (2), and (5) above (PMG 2 (iv), 19, 59(a), 96, 20), on the other we have attestation of homogeneous composition in other metres, ὄλα ἄσματα ἰωνικά (Heph. 12: PMG 46), ὄλας στροφάς of acatalectic dactylic tetrameters (Heph. 43: PMG 27), four consecutive dactylic hexameters (PMG 26), a pair of cretic hexameters (PMG 58), and the peculiar testimony of Heph. π. σημείων 4, p. 74 Consbr. (PMG 161(a)), of fourteen-stanza poems, the first seven stanzas being in one metre, the second seven in another. I do not know whether Hesychius' entry in *κλεισίμβοι* (Ἄριστόξενος· μέλη τινὰ παρ' Ἀλκμᾶνι) is also relevant. It is a reasonable supposition, though in the present state of the evidence it can be no more than a tentative one, that we have here a stichic iambic composition: whether in tetrameters, catalectic trimeters, or dimeters, I cannot say, but if the end-title is centred, it will be one of the shorter lengths.

The statement in the Suda runs ἔγραψε βιβλία 5' μέλη καὶ Κολυμβώσας. It is now clear that this is to be taken as attesting six books of μέλη, and this is a welcome piece of clarification. But are we now to read ἔγραψε βιβλία 5' μελῶν, καὶ Κολυμβώσας, implying that the Κολυμβῶσαι are something apart from the six books of μέλη, or ἔγραψε βιβλία 5', μέλη καὶ κολυμβώσας, implying (despite the fact that the general title was simply μέλη, witness 3209 and XXIV 2392) that κολυμβῶσαι along with μέλη are a constituent of the six books? The Κολυμβῶσαι remain as enigmatic as ever, and now that we are no longer free to adopt Mr. Lobel's hitherto phenomena-saving suggestion that there were five books of μέλη and one entitled Κολυμβῶσαι (*P. Oxy.* XXIV p. 8 n.), it is more likely than before that there is corruption (cf. J. A. Davison, *Proc. IX Int. Congr. Pap.* 35-8 = *From Archilochus to Pindar*, 179-83).¹

¹ Might not κολυμβώσας, by graphic error, be hiding μελιαμβικά or μελιαμβ(ικὰς) ᾠδὰς? (But I will not conceal the principal objection to this, namely that the single certain attestation of the word

There is a bare possibility, raised by $\gamma\mu$ [at fr. 4. 3 and certainly not contradicted by the main fragment, that the pieces under this number are from a marriage-song.¹ (Leonidas of Tarentum calls Alcman τὸν ὑμνητῆρ' ὑμεναίων.) If so, it is of interest that Sappho's final book appears to have been constituted mainly of epithalamia (see Lobel, *Σάπφου Μέλη*, xiii–xv, Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus*, 112–19, 126). It may be worth observing that all the Alcman quotations in catalectic trimeters (cited under (2) above) are compatible with their belonging to such a class of song.²

The text is written in a round and upright hand of fairly common type (comparable with, for example, the rather stiffer XXVIII 2494), assigned a date within the first half of the second century. There is nothing remarkable about the lection signs. I find no trace of a second hand. The back is blank.

Fr. 1

.

...]μα[

] *stripped* [

] κλεοσφερ[

] .καιροισατ[

5] ...[...]ερ[

] ὄδ' ευθυς.[

.]....[

].χωδαφυψηλω[

]δομωναπακρω[

10]:- [

]. [

] $\bar{\alpha}\lambda\kappa\mu\alpha\gamma\omicron\bar{\zeta}$ [

] [

]. $\bar{\mu}[\epsilon]\lambda\omega\nu\bar{\zeta}$ [

] [

μελίamboi, Diog. Laert. 6. 76, is applied *not* to melic iambs such as we seem to have in 3209 but to one of Cercidas' dactylo-epitrite compositions. [Elsewhere the word is restored from *μυμίαμβοι*; VIII 1082 fr. 4. 17, Cercidas' end-title, may equally be $\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\alpha\mu\beta\omega\nu$ or $\mu\iota\mu\iota\alpha\mu\beta\omega\nu$.]

In the next sentence, *πρῶτος δὲ εἰσήγαγε τὸ μὴ ἑξαμέτροις μελωδεῖν*, I would delete *μὴ* (cf. ps.-Plut. *de mus.* 3, of Terpander's prooemia, *τοῖς ἔπεσι . . . μέλη περιτιθέντα ᾄδειν*).

¹ In view of this possibility, it may be wondered whether Sappho fr. 117, †*χαίρουσ' ἀνύμφα†*, *χαιρέτω δ' ὁ γάμβρος*, cited without attestation of authorship by Hephaestion *Ench.* iv 2 (p. 13 Consbr.), might find a better home in this poem or group of poems by Alcman: the metre is catalectic iambic trimeter. The only counter-indication that I see is that cod. U of Choeroboscus in Heph. iv (p. 220 Consbr.) transmits *ἀνύμφα* (with smooth breathing); but although this is the only relic of specifically aeolic prosody in the manuscripts at any of the three attestations, it is perhaps enough to uphold the traditional authorship.

² *ς'* may be as likely a correction as *ε'* for the attribution at PMG 19, in view of its special liability to corruption.

The papyrus continues for a further 6.5 cm., blank.

Fr. 1 4 ., possibly a flat-topped sigma 5 . . ., scattered specks, extending into left margin 6 .[, trace just above letter-top level, close to ς , probably *apostrophe* or *diastole*, and medial speck to right on isolated fibre 7 Mostly stripped; some ink on the lower layer suggests original damage 8]., oblique trace coming in to foot of χ : a rather than ϵ After δ , if an *apostrophe* was written it will have been lost 11]., tail of *coronis*? To the right of the name, a blot 14]., indeterminate traces that I cannot account for

Fr. 2

]υκ . γεβρωι .[
] . χυςκατο[
] . . ενκν[
]' . . τα . . .[
 5] [
]απρονα[
]καγερωχ[
]λεγοιτ[
]εισα . .[
 10]εκπαρ[
]αιβ .[

Fr. 3

.
] ακυν .[
] φοβω[
] . τετρ[
] . δητ[

Fr. 3 1 The upper papyrus layer was deficient when the text was written a : a corner of the papyrus is turned over and liable to become detached, but a is certain .[, medial trace, apparently horizontal, perhaps ϵ 2 ϕ , represented by tail and part of right-hand side β , bottom half only 3]., confused with offsets 4]., two specks, positions suggesting a

Fr. 2 This fragment, badly abraded, was found adhering to the back of the lower part of fr. 1 (the other way up), and is in a fragile condition. The readings are unusually liable to be erroneous.

Fr. 2 1 .[, low curve of e.g. ς , or bottom left of δ 2] . $\chi\upsilon\varsigma$, tops only 3] . ., perhaps $\epsilon\varsigma$ 4 *Apostrophe* uncertain . . .[, traces anomalous: correction? 6 a , τ , and final a very doubtful, represented by scattered specks 9 . .[, κ or τ , then rising curve, e.g. λ

	Fr. 4	Fr. 5	Fr. 6

	]..[	]βεβ.[	]ς [
	]..[.] [	]μεια[] [
	]c'γαμ[	. . .	]οc[
	]ατοcτ.[] [
5	]κᾶλον[		5] . [
]..[] [
	. . .		]πν[
			. . .

Fr. 4 1 Indeterminate traces on lower papyrus layer 2 Second letter, if a single letter, represented by a low curve, perhaps θ or o 5 *Longum* not quite certain Above o , casual ink (rather than accent)? 6], perhaps ϵ

Fr. 5 1], oblique coming in to base of β , suggesting α], traces on isolated fibre 2] μ , or λ , less good

Fr. 6 3 Perhaps line end 7 Or]π.ν[; π is on a displaced bit of papyrus

Remaining: (1) a scrap with indeterminate traces of perhaps three or four letters; (2) a piece (3.2 × 6.5 cm.) with horizontal fibres on both sides, probably therefore to be linked with fr. 2 and the lower half of fr. 1 (see at fr. 2): it has very slight traces of ink on either side; and (3) several small pieces, either blank or as near blank as makes no difference.

Fr. 1 3 Poets confer κλέος on others, but it might be thought more likely that Alcman is concerned with his own κλέος: does the Muse (or Muses) bring it?

κλέος, not κλίος, probably because of original intervocalic digamma: so *Κλησιςήρα* in the Louvre Parthenaeon 72, and *Κλεο-* regularly in the Laconian inscriptions. But *πυλεών'* at XXIV 2387 fr. 3 ii 5 (= PMG 3. 65) without such justification. Cf. on *εὐθύς*, line 6 below.

4 *καίροισα* is acceptable. Such behaviour is surely too undignified for a Muse; perhaps a *παρθένος*? (I do not know if there is any relevance in the horse imagery at Alcman. 1. 50 ff. Anacreon has *σκιρτᾶν* in an extended girl-foal metaphor, PMG 417. 15.)

6 δ δ' *εὐθύς* rather than δδ' *εὐθύς*? Is the subject Alcman himself, or, if this is a wedding-song, the bridegroom? *εὐθύς* not *εὐθυς*, for c appears to be followed by a *diastole*, clarifying the articulation (which otherwise might be ambiguous, *εὐθύς* or *εὐθύ*); for the high position of the sign see XLIV 3153 563 n. Less probably *εὐθύς*, the sign being an *apostrophe* (Alcman has $c\epsilon$ as well as $\tau\epsilon$ attested for him by Apollonius Dyscolus, PMG 70). For the final letter, the location of the speck excludes only ν among vowels.

εὐύ(c) would be the expected spelling. Lyric papyri often vary in the extent of dialectal thoroughness. Non-laconization again at line 8 below.

8 *ἄχώ* makes an acceptable reading, *ἔχω* and *ὄχω* are excluded. *ἄχώ* nominative or accusative? *ἄφ' ὑψηλῶ*: singular or plural? *ἄχώ* (*ἠχώ*) appears in wedding-song context at Sappho 44. 27 (*ἄειδον μέλος ἄγγ[ον ἱκα]νε δ' ἐκ ἀἴθ[ερα]*] *ἄχω θεσπεσία γελ[]*, [Hes.] *Scut.* 279 (*περὶ δέ φεικιν ἄγγυτο ἠχώ*), cf. Eurip. *IA* 1009 (*Ἰγμέναιος . . . ἔστασεν ἰαχάν*), Theoc. 18. 8 (*ὑπὸ δ' ἰαχε δῶμ' ὑμειναίω*), and for *ἄχώ* Bacchyl. 23. 3, Alc. *G* 2. 34. But the word is of course not restricted to such context. Frequently of the sound of musical instruments. An alternative articulation would be *ἄ χ' ᾠδ'*.

ἀφ' ὑψηλῶ[: contrast]πιππωνεα[('presumably for]φ' ἴππ-? Lobel) at XXIV 2388 fr. 6. 9. This violates the principle stated by Ap. Dysc., PMG 87, unless ἀφ' ὑψ- is an alternative orthography for ἀπ' ὑψ-.

9 δόμων ἀπ' ἄκρω[: ἄκρω[ν, presumably. Ἄχῳ from the house-tops? The singing at the Athenian Adonis festival took place on the roof (A. *Lys.* 389 ff., and see Sandbach on Men. *Sam.* 39). Cf. further A. *Ach.* 262 (spectator of phallic procession), Callim. *Hy.* vi 1-4. Otherwise, δόμων may be qualified rather by ὑψηλῶ[ν, and ἀφ' ὑψηλῶ[ν . . .] δόμων ἀπ' ἄκρω [τ(ε). . . becomes conceivable, however remotely. I suppose δόμω νάπα κρω[need not be considered.

The 'paragraphus' is presumably incorporated by a coronis, of which the remaining traces here and in line 11 will be remnants.

Fr. 2 1 νεβρωῶ(ι), *Εβρω(ι)?

7 If the reading is sound, part of ἀγέρωχος; again at PMG 5 fr. 1(b) 4 and 10(b) 15 (neither the present place), and attested for Alcman as meaning *ceμνός* by Eust. *Il.* 314. 43. If the metre is iambic, κἀγερωχ-.

10 ἐκ Cπάρ[τας, *al.*

Fr. 3 1 Part of κύων? But the verbs *κυνῆν*, *μᾶκύνην* are also available, *inter al.*

Fr. 4 3 γαμ[: μ is virtually certain: γαμῆν or cognate is highly probable (alternatives: γᾶ, γαμόρος, γαμφηλός, γαμφῶνξ or cognate). Reference to a famous marriage (Helen and Menelaus?), or to the present occasion, or neither?

5 κᾶλον: if the *longum* is (a) rightly read and (b) rightly placed, cf. κᾶλον (so marked in pap.) again at PMG 3 (2387) fr. 1. 5 and see note in ed. pr.

3210. COMMENTARY ON ALCMAN? (ADDENDUM TO XXIV 2389?)

No inventory no.

Fr. 1, 6.1 × 10.5 cm.

First century

The following fragments were referred to in the introduction to XXIV 2389, a commentary on Alcman, where they were described by Mr. Lobel as 'a few very much tattered and rubbed prose fragments, perhaps also a commentary, in variant A'. I have been unable to elicit any coherent sense from them, but it is clear that the work represented is a commentary, and the internal evidence goes some way towards justifying a presumption that these are further fragments of the same manuscript as fr. 1-34 of 2389. Sappho is twice mentioned (1. 9, 12), but a probable mention of Archidamus (2. 6) suggests that Alcman may be the poet under discussion.

Mr. Lobel, at 2389, identifies other manuscripts that apparently proceed from the hand of the same scribe and isolates their various distinguishing features. XXXIV 2694 was claimed in *BICS* 7 (1960) 46 for the same man (wrongly, in my view), and I should have judged that he was responsible for XXV 2430, a somewhat larger version of what Mr. Lobel designates variant A (the *coronides* of 2430 may be compared with that of 2389 fr. 4). Mr. Lobel assigns the hand to the second half of the first century.

		Fr. 1	
		Col. i	Col. ii
	(a)	].[.]...τϵ]ιγα	[.]
	(b)	]αβ.]ιοδε [..[]
5		]να	.]
	(c)	]φ[.]ωι].[.]κα	[.]
		]φ[.]ελθ[.]η]...απφω[.]ις	[]
10		]οτ̄ε̄διαδ̄υεῑνφ̄. η̄εν].....μφωνα`..`ληγει	[.]
		]ξειδ̄...απφω̄δια]εν̄τωνε̄. κῡμφωνον	[]
		]δ̄ον...α[.]εν̄ος...α	[]
15		]...ε̄ρ[.]οῡ. νικᾱρη̄τεςον]....η̄ςφ̄η̄ςῑνο̄τῑπᾱρᾱτο̄ν	[]
		]...ν̄.....`'[...ο̄ῑε̄ῑτ̄η̄ῑ]κ̄ον̄ρ[]α	[]
		]ω̄ς.	[
20		]...[.]δο̄ξε̄[].[...π[...]α. ο̄ῡ[[]
		Foot (?)	

Fr. 1 In many places the surface is so rubbed that the letters have almost completely or have completely disappeared. Where the damage is less severe and scattered traces survive I have reported those that represent a restricted choice of letters. Where no traces remain I have put square brackets, provided that there is reason for believing that letters once stood there. All supralinear additions and corrections are to be understood as being by the second hand unless otherwise stated.

Alignment of the verso and recto fibres establishes, I think, that the positions of (a) and (b) relative to each other and to (c) are as shown.

Col. i 3], upright, perhaps π, oblique, compatible with α 4 οδ, a dot below is evidently accidental ε, mid-stroke prolonged 6 φ, descender only 8 θ, or ο, upright], apex: δ or λ 9], or η 10 .., compatible with ων 11],, perhaps δξ; the next three letters hardly εις, not δυο; then κυ unverifiable `..`, several traces, the last an upright 12 ιδ, or κ, less good ..., a high and a middle speck; traces of a possible upright; upright and top bar (γ, τ); high speck of another letter: ειτο, ειτι, ητα, possible *inter alia* 13 .., apparent upright, followed by low trace: ν (εν) and ις (εις) are possibilities 14]δ, or λ, μ, perhaps κ ..(*ad fin.*), anomalous: low trace suggesting upright followed by stroke sloping forwards and extending

slightly below line: $\epsilon\rho$, $\epsilon\iota$? 15 .(ante ϵ), compatible with π .(ante ν), upright, rubbed clean to right 16 .(tert.), upright with hook or bar to right at top 17 ... (post ν), specks, an upright, a low curve, two specks one low one above line .(quart.), γ , π , τ \', what remains appears to be a horizontal bar with an upward curl at right At the end, some fainter traces that extend up to the previous line, possibly offsets 20], low horizontal, ξ ?

Col. ii 3 ..[, either a lemma in ecthesis (perhaps $\epsilon\iota$ []) or a marginal siglum (cf. e.g. 2389 fr. 9 ii)

Fr. 2

Top (?)

]η..παν[
]...[.]..εκξ[
]...[.]..ιδαν[
]τα.εξπ.....[
 5]...[.]...τ[
]αρχιδ[
]..α.[.]..[
].ην..[.]...[
]τη....παρατηνγα[
 10]απερτο...ραφεξθαι\'.[.]φ.οεσθαι'[
]υθωσεστινωαιο[
].ιφαιρο\'.τ..'\'.μοι..[
]..ος.[
]εικαθα\'.'\'.[
 15]φατοςπ.[
].αμεις\'.'\'.η[
].cυντω[
].[...].αιανδε[
].δυναταιπα[
 20].ανηγ.[
]ειδες[
]υυθι[
].ι...θειανμεν.[
].ηεσσα...εφω[
 25]ρξεξεωσεωσφ.[
]δ\'.οι\'.[.]αλω[.]...[
]αρ\'.ε\'.ια[.]...ιπ...[

Foot (?)

Fr. 2 3 .[, upright After ν , perhaps a or o ; then scattered specks before ι , of which the most considerable is apparently oblique, running upwards from left to right: χ neither excluded nor particularly suggested ν [, μ less good, for the left hasta is quite vertical 4 κ , or ν After π , perhaps ϵ 7 Before a , two uprights 9 Before π , perhaps $\delta\iota$ 10 .\bar{.}, first, upright curving to right at top, second, upright, third, speck at letter-top level 11 ι , anomalous: extending below the line and sloping backwards; hardly ρ 12 ζ , almost certain, ϵ just possible 14 ..[, $\pi\epsilon$ possible 15 π , or $\iota\epsilon$.[, a possible 16 \'.', perhaps $\tau\omicron$ 20]., seemingly two uprights, perhaps π 21 ζ , or π 22 ι , or η 23 . (*ante* θ), high trace, perhaps top of oblique .[, low curve: probably o or ω 24]., a mere speck η , represented by two apparent uprights with suggestion of mid-stroke 25 .[, a low curve: a , ϵ , o , ω 26 'οι', apparently by 1st hand: the surface is stripped above the line, so that there is room for up to three letters after $οι$]., bottom of upright]., several traces, one perhaps an upright; a sublinear speck may be accidental 27]., two strokes meeting at top to form an apex, the first more vertical than horizontal, the second more horizontal than vertical ..[, first, upright with top bar to right (γ , ϵ , π ?), second, upright with hook to right at top (ϵ , ϵ ?)

Fr. 3

Col. i

Col. ii

a] ..ηρ[
b] εικαλο[

	]θαιη	..].εστ[
	]ατονα[...]' '[]	μενονπ[
	]αυταμεν[]	ακαλαφ[
	]πε[...].ο....ο[]	ζινα[
5	]ε	φηξε[
	]γογτος	[
	]μαχεσθαι [ ]	]α[
	]β[]	ε[

Fr. 3 This fragment probably belongs above fr. 4, for in each fragment the script of the first column is rather small and cramped, whereas that of the second is larger than usual. They do not evidently join, however, and the distance between them cannot be determined.

a, b, in upper margin, in 2nd hand; apparently line beginnings.

Col. i 2]., high trace, compatible with τ \'.', probably a letter in suspension at the end of the line 4 π , or τ ϵ , or ι]., upright four uprights, with mid- or high stroke between second and third:]ποιετο[acceptable 8]., upright, probably ι or η

Col. ii 1 ..[, or ...]]., upright 3 ϕ , or δ 4 $\epsilon\iota$, better than $\tau\iota$, $\gamma\iota$ or π

		Fr. 4		Fr. 5	
		Col. i	Col. ii	.	.
		.	.	.]. . . . [
		]ημεις	[		]δ.[
		]κεινοι	θ[]..[
		]..ζε	τα[		]..ωζ[
		]ηοτ[]	το[	5]..[.]...[
5		]ψευδ[]	τ[		]..εορατ.[
		] [	[		]υλιυδρο[
].. [[]..[
] [[.	.
] [[.	.
10		]ρ	[		Fr. 6
		]ωι	ο[	.	.
] [. []..[
		] [	. [		]φαις.[
			].. [		]ρηται[
		.	.		]..ονιζα[
		.	.	5	]ιγ.[
		.	.		]..ο[
		.	.		]δ..υγ[
		.	.]..[
	

		Fr. 7	
		Col. i	Col. ii
		.	.
		]ρ[] [[
		]ν[.].. [] [[
		]..ον	. [
]..	[
5		]π..	δ[
		.	.

Fr. 8	Fr. 9	Fr. 10
...
]π€[	]α[	]ι€[
...	]ικ.[	...
	...	

Fr. 4 Col. i 5 ψ, or φ δ, or λ, μ 10 ρ, descender only ii 14 high curve, probably ρ or ε

Fr. 5 1 ..(sec. et tert.), uprights 2 .[, upright 6 ρ, or θ .[, low trace, perhaps of upright

Fr. 6 2 .[, low trace of upright or oblique 4 ι, perhaps ῑ, or τ ζ, or perhaps ε

Fr. 7 Col. i 3].. τ, γ

Fr. 1 10-13 Talk of vowels and consonants, but I cannot elicit the word or principle under discussion.

10-11 *διὰ δυεῖν φωνηέν[των*, 'with two vowels', 11 *κύμφωνα λήγει*, 'ends [in x?] consonants'. Hephaestion, discussing 'lengthening by position', divides the phenomenon into five categories and quotes a verse supposedly from Alcman to illustrate the first, that represented by words that terminate in two consonants (*λήξει εἰς δύο κύμφωνα*): *καὶ κῆνος ἐν ἀλεεσσὶ πολλοῖς ἤμενος μάκαρς ἀνὴρ* (*Ench.* i 3, p. 2 Consbruch, = *PMG* 15). But I am far from sure that there is relevance in this; it leaves *διὰ δυεῖν φωνηέν[των* unaccounted for. [The same goes for other doctrine on such words. No. 18 of Theodosius' *canones* of masculine declensions lays down the rule that nouns ending in two consonants keep two consonants in oblique cases (e.g. *Τίρυνς*, *Τίρυνθος*), with the exception of *ἄλς*; also that the vocative of such nouns has the same form as the nominative (p. 17. 7-15 Hilgard). George Choeroboscus adds that all such nouns end either in *ς* or in *ξ* (p. 256. 33 f. Hilgard).]

12 *λή]ξει*, *λέ]ξει* are two of many possibilities.

13 Presumably *φωνηέντων*. The simple restoration *διὰ [[δυεῖν φωνη]έντων* should be too short, for the lines of XXVI 2389 whose lengths are guaranteed vary between 29 and 35 letters. Then *ἐν κύμφωνον* is a possible reading.

15 All is doubtful here. Possibly something on the lines of *περ[ι] τοῦ κνῖσα ῥητέον* [ὄτι (kappa is unverifiable), but *ῥητέον* is not a normal formula. The orthography of *κνῖσα* was treated by Herodian in his *καθολικὴ προσῳδία*. He stated (a) that it should be written with one sigma (*κνισα* not *κνισσα*), and (b) that the iota is long (*κνῖσα*, not *κνίσα* or *κνεῖσα*); (a) on grounds of its derivation from the future of *κνίζειν*, (b) in accordance with the general rule regarding the quantity of the penultimate syllable of nouns and adjectives in *-σα* (Lentz i 266. 13-16, 445. 28 f., ii 536. 11 f.; i 533. 13-19, ii 12. 11-16; ii 455. 13-16). This whole line of inquiry is dubious in the extreme, and I see no way of controlling it. *κνῖσα* is not attested for Alcman or Sappho, and I have not found any other suitable word that is.

16 There is little hope of reading what precedes *ης*; presumably this is the name of some authority. If *τρν* is rightly read and the line ends here (faint traces hereabouts seem to be offsets), hardly the etymological formula *παρὰ τό*, 'derived from'.

Fr. 2 3 I have rejected the more suggestive alternatives to *Αρχιδαμ[* (*Λεωτυχίδα*, *Ἰπποκρατίδα*, *παῖδα*, etc.), but am not altogether convinced that *Αρχιδαμ[* is compatible with the traces.

6 A mention of Archidamus, apparently, but of no chronological importance, for in the Eurypontid succession given at Herod. 8. 131 Archidamus is two generations earlier than Leotyichidas, who figures in the Alcman commentary XXIV 2390.

10 *ἄτερ τοῦ ι* (or *ἦ* or *εῖ*) *γράφεσθαι*? *ἄτερ* is found in late prose and in fact is used in two papyrus documents of the roman period with stylistic pretensions (VI 936 18, P. Lond. 1171 verso *c* = *W. Chr.* 439. 3). If *γαιο[* is correctly read in the next line (iota is anomalous but less unsatisfactory than anything else), the orthography of some compound in *γαί-/γαῖ-* might be in question; cf. *παρὰ τὴν γα[* in 9. But I can make no progress along this speculative line. [(1) Two Spartan inscriptions: one, of the fifth century B.C., has *Γαῖάφοχος* (*IG* V i 213. 9 *alibi*), the other, probably second century A.D., has *Γάφοχοι* as the name of a contest (*IG* V i 296. 11). But since the papyrus has *γαίο[*, not *γααο[* or *γαία[*, I cannot see that this leads anywhere. (2) 16 could conceivably be referred to a discussion of *γαῖα/γῆ*, and 18 supplemented *γ]αῖαν* (or just *αῖαν*), but the possibility seems rather remote. Alcman has *γαῖα* at *PMG* 89. 3.]

11 (*ἀν*)*ακολο]ύθως*?

15 *-φατος π.* [, *-φατο σπ.* [, *-φα τὸ σπα[ρτ-*, etc.

16 Apparently *αῖ εἰς ἦ* is the intention (the supralinear addition may be *τό*). If the reference is to Lesbian (it is surely not to Laconian) I should have expected rather *ἦ εἰς αῖ*. I doubt that the substitution of *η* for *αι* in Boeotian is of any relevance. Perhaps specifically on *γαῖα > γῆ*?

20 *πανηγυ[ρ-* is a possibility.

23 Unless simply *θεῖαν*, which is quite possible, probably *εὐθεῖαν*, perhaps with its grammatical meaning, 'nominative'. *ορθειαν* may not be ruled out, but the traces favour *ευθειαν*.

24 *π* is not to be read before *φω*, for in this hand the top bar of pi does not extend beyond the right hasta; so not *Κάπφω*.

25 How to articulate? It may be that one or other *εως* is *ζως* in its function of bridging the first

and last words or phrases of a lemma. If it is the second such sequence that represents $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$, I cannot suggest what the preceding word might be nor put forward plausible alternative readings. If it is the first, $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma\phi\acute{\omicron}[\rho\omicron\varsigma$ suggests itself as the next word (and $\phi\omega[\varsigma\phi\acute{\omicron}\rho-$ could be supplied in 24, and cf. $\text{'}\text{Ορθείαν}$ in 23?), but then the lemma is neither Lesbian nor Alcmanic.

26 Perhaps $[a]\pi\alpha\lambda\omega$. If so, not in extant Sappho, Alcaeus, or Alcman.

27 It might be worth mentioning the possibility of $\beta[\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha\nu$ $[\tau\acute{\alpha}]\alpha\nu$, 'grave accent'.

Fr. 3 Col. i 6 Perhaps $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}[\gamma\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$, but even so not necessarily introducing a lemma.

7 I see no connection with Alcman. 1. 63 (which is treated in 2389 6 ii), or for that matter with Sappho 60. 7L-P.

Col. ii 3 Apparently a mention of Ascalaphus, whether as son of Ares and Astyoche (Homer) or as informer against Persephone in the underworld (Ovid, Apollodorus, late mythographers and commentators). A probability in favour of the former is established by the suspicion that Ascalaphus' name and place in the Persephone legend may not be pre-hellenistic and by the suggestion of a martial context in $\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\epsilon\theta\alpha\iota$ at i 7. I would think that neither $\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\langle\omega\nu\rangle$ nor $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\kappa\alpha\lambda\alpha$ 'unhoed' (Theoc. x 14) need be considered.

Fr. 4 Col. i 1, 2 $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$, $[\acute{\epsilon}]\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\omicron\iota$: presumably in paraphrase or explication, cf. $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ at 2389 6 ii 31.

Fr. 5 7 $\kappa[\upsilon\lambda\omega\delta\rho\omicron[-$: not a book reference, for they are not given according to the roll. I may say that I have attacked fr. 2. 12 with $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omega\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ in mind, without succeeding in extracting anything coherent from that line.

3211. LYRIC VERSES

Second century

The two scraps published under this number were not found together and there is nothing to show that they came from the same roll. The larger obviously contains verse and may reasonably be supposed to represent a lyrical verse text, what little survives of the other can be interpreted compatibly with lyric verse. But there is at present nothing useful, that I see, to be made of the text of the fragments. Their interest lies in the striking script. There is no doubt that the same hand wrote both, but fr. 1 is stiffer with a sharp-pointed α and a straight-backed ϵ , fr. 2 relaxed and rounded. Common to the two are an exceptional treatment of the right-hand apex of μ and the inordinate elongation of the stalks of stalked letters ρ , τ , υ , ϕ . I suppose that a comparison with such manuscripts as 1233 and 2307 and a dating in the second half of the second century will not be far astray.

Fr. 1	Fr. 2
.
].εκ. . . .[	].ναλλασελπιδ[
]τεφαν.[	].ρ. . . χα,ητ[]..[
]δεκωμ[	]γαμιαδα,κομ[
]α [	].ζυγιοιομακαρτ[
5 ]..[	5]ρυσεαναγκα.[
.

Fr. 1 1], the lower part of an upright descending below the line After κ the lower part of an oval; not like ο of fr. 2, no θ for comparison. Near to this an upright descending below the line and having a speck to right just higher than its top (ρ or υ?), followed by another upright descending below the line at an interval suggesting τ .[, the foot of an upright 2], the lower part of an upright 5 On the edge of the break a flat stroke dipping at its right-hand end and having the start of a stroke descending from near its left-hand end

Fr. 2 1], a slightly concave upright 2], if one letter, the right-hand parts of η. Hardly π After ρ a dot near the middle of its loop, followed by two slighter dots at the same level, below which is the lower part of an upright descending well below the line; something against τ or υ alone, and no room for both Before χ a triangular letter, after α the lower end of a stroke descending from left]..[, on the line a short stroke rising to right to touch the left-hand end of the base of a circle 3 I think a letter (presumably ι) has almost completely vanished between α and c 4], the foot of an upright, above which a speck higher than the top of the letters τ[, only the left-hand end of the cross-stroke 5], a speck on the line and a speck vertically above it level with the top of the letters

Fr. 1 If lyric verses are represented—the short line, l. 4, supports the hypothesis—some part or derivative of *τέφανος* may be to be recognized in l. 2, some part or derivative of *κῶμος* in l. 3. Cf. e.g. Pind. *Pyth.* viii 19 seq. . . . ἐστεφανωμένον . . . κῶμῳ.

Fr. 2 3 seq. -γαμια δαικομ[,], ζυγιοιο μακαρτ[, the prima facie likely articulations.
5 χ]ρυσεαν ἀγκα.[. ἀναγκα.[not worth considering as an alternative.

3212. LYRIC VERSES

Second century

The following remains may reasonably be described as representing a lyric composition. There appear to be no dialectal peculiarities except α for η (and this is consistent with a source in dramatic lyrics), unless]κλειζ[. [l. 8, represents some form of κλειζω or εὐκλειζω (Pind. *Ol.* i 110, *Pyth.* ix 91; Bacchyl. vi 16).

Written slowly in a spaced, upright, rounded capital of average size by a hand which may be compared to those of 211, 220, 1249 and assigned to the second century.

. . .

].τωνοιτυχον.εδεπ.[
].υδεθewνατεραγνωγεδ[
]...χε.αιδαοιδακαι.ν.[
].οικαιδεδοικαθυμωμητ[
 5].αιμονος.[]ν[
]δεπιγαν[].ιχ[
 τοδα.κα[].γερασ...[].μ[
 φυλονε.[]ν[].ειν[]κλειζ.[

Rubbed; in some places the ink has completely disappeared. To judge by the margins to left of and below the text this was a copy of good quality.

1], the end of a stroke from left touching the stalk of τ about the middle; a possible Of ω opposite ends of the base; perhaps parts of separate letters οι of ο only the top, but I think not ε χ would certainly be taken for λ; there is no sign of the right-hand branch Between ν and ε the foot of an upright; τ likely Of π only the left-hand side], the foot of a stroke hooked to right 2], three disjointed traces of a partly circular or triangular letter 3],, a low upright, followed by the upper left-hand part of a circle, c rather than ο Before χ a short flat stroke level with the top of the letters After ε, which is anomalous, a thick dot, level with the top of the letters, and a speck below and slightly to right on the line; ται not verifiable],, a triangular letter and, after a blank, another; prima facie λ[λ], an upright with a small loop to left of its foot; if α, anomalous 4],, the right-hand end of a cross-stroke touching the top of ο Of ν only the tip of the left-hand branch and the foot 5],, the top of a small circle or loop], a dot above general level 6],, the lower part of a stroke curving down from left; λι or αι? 7 α and α[represented only by the bottom of the loops ...],, on the line a small hook, open to right; the upper end of a stroke rising to right; the lower part of an upright],, the right-hand side of a circle 8 θ could not be ruled out for ε ζ],, on the line the base of a circle

3213. LYRIC VERSES IN 'DORIC'

Second century

The piece, of which parts of eight verses are preserved in this scrap of a roll copied by the same hand as 1092 (Hdt. ii),¹ was also copied by at least one other scribe, the writer of 2443, the same verses being represented by 3213 1 seq. and 2443 fr. 1, 11 seq. 2443 was tentatively attributed to Pindar (fr. dub. 345 Sn), but the text as now constituted has formal features that prima facie rule out all but Alcman of the known lyric poets that come into consideration as author. So far as I can judge from what

¹ Besides 1092 this copyist is recognized in PSI 1390 (Euphorion), PSI 1391 (commentary on lyric, now identifiable as 2622, Pindar?), and other manuscripts as yet unpublished, both extant authors (Hdt. iii, Plato, *Phaedo*) and new text (commentary on *Odyssey* xxii). To these must be added both the text and the marginalia of the Alcaeus in 2297, the text distinguished from all the rest by the employment of a shallow ('catena') -topped μ, instead of a deep v-centred μ, and of ω with a high central cusp, instead of ω with a nearly flat base.

A considerable number of small scraps, some susceptible to grouping, I have failed to identify either as from one of the identified rolls or from some other identifiable author.

survives I doubt whether I could have arrived at this conclusion on grounds of matter or style.

Of the additions (lection signs, and variants or corrections) that have been made, some it seems rather arbitrarily, to the text most look to me as if they might be due to one pen, and that the original hand's.

μα . ευκοθεα[]ντεμενο[	μα . Λευκοθεα[ν έρατο]ν τέμενο[ς]
εκτρυ . εανανιω[] .ον [	έκ τρυ . εαν ανιω[ν, ε]χον]
^ω δεδιδασδυ . ο . γλυκεϊας . [	δὲ δίδασ δύο γλυκείας .
ταϊδο . ξεδηποταμω[[ι]]καλλιρω[[ι]] [	ταί δ' ο . ξεδη ποταμῶ(ι) καλλιρόω(ι)
5 ἀράσαντ' έρατοντελεσαιγαμον [	ἀράσαντ' έρατόν τελέσαι γάμον
καϊταπας . ει . ναγυνναιξικαιανδρα[	καί τὰ πασεῖν ἃ γυνναιξί καὶ ἀνδρά[σι
ου . τακφριδιαστευα̂ . [. .] χῆν[	]ατα κωριδίας τ' εύνας [τυ]χῆν κτλ .
]. ['] . ο[

The top of the column. The upper part of the piece is split and wrinkled and has a darkened area in which ink is sometimes only uncertainly distinguishable. There is also a sprinkling of black marks sometimes not distinguishable from ink. 2443 fr. 1, 11 seq. resolves some doubts in vv. 1 seq.

1 seq. The contribution of 2443 fr. 1, 11 seq. between half-brackets. In l. 12 νῆων is written.

1 λ is not verifiable; between α and ε there are only two or three dots level with the top of the letters 2 See note 3 The upper part of the *coronis* scoured off, but clearly the middle of the *coronis* was not abreast of the *paragraphus* Above εἰ the lower part of an upright 4 At an interval from δο the upper part of an upright ε much distorted, but I see no likelier choice 8 Of φ[only the upper part; θ may be a possible alternative

1 μα . is preceded by a short line ending], ος, 2443 fr. 1, 10.

Λευκοθεαν: though it might be possible to devise a construction for the accusative singular, the *prima facie* likelihood is *Λευκοθεᾶν* . . . *τέμενος*. *Λευκοθείαι* by extension for Nereids is reported at *Et. Mag.* (*Gen.*) 561, 45 † *Μυρσίνος* (*Μυρσίλος*) δὲ οὐ μόνον τὴν *Λευκοθέαν* Ἰνώ φησὶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς *Νηρηΐδας* *Λευκοθέας* ὀνομάζει, and Hesych. *Λευκοθείαι* πᾶσαι αἰ πόνται is presumed to mean something of the same sort.

Pausanias says that there were many *τεμένη* of the Nereids (ii 1, 8), and mentions a particular one at Cardamyle in Messenia (iii 26, 7). Since there is no metrical reason for the choice, *Λευκοθεᾶν* for *Νηρηΐδων* might contain a clue.

Since -θ- is represented by -c- in its only other occurrence, l. 6, -cιαν would have been consistent here. There can be no reasonable doubt that 2443 had nothing but -θεαν, but I am confident that ε in the present manuscript was converted (? by a different pen) from ι, and though I cannot affirm that θ was made from c by closing the opening, it has an anomalous look and I am not sure whether it has been given its central stroke.

[νερατο], supplied by 2443, looks too much for the space by not less than an average letter.

2 έκ . . ανιών: in phrases of this form (and the parallel, where the genitive precedes *έξανιών* however articulated), which are found in all kinds of hexameter verse, but as far as I can discover in no lyric verse but here, the genitive is usually a place-name, or something more or less equivalent, or the scene of an activity. Thus, e.g., *Εφύρησ* *Od.* i 159, *Callim. hy.* iv 43, *Τρόίης* *Od.* x 332, *Αἰθιόπων*

Od. v 282, *πομπῆς Od.* viii 568, *πολέμου Il.* vi 480, *περάτων Ap. Rhod. Argon.* ii 165, *βοτάνης Theoc.* xxv 87, *ἀγρης 2817 20* ('Ελλάδος *Ap. Rhod. Argon.* ii 459, *γαίης Ὑλληίδος iv* 562, *ἀγρης* (corr.) *hy. Hom.* xix 15, *θήρης Ap. Rhod. Argon.* iii 69).

πρυ. εἰν: the dotted letter must be read either as γ or as ς, either anomalously formed and neither offering a recognizable meaning.

3 *κίδας δύο γλυκείας*: the ι of *κίδη* 'pomegranate' is long at *Nicand. Θηρ.* 72; 870, *Ἀλεξ.* 489; 609, short in *Emped.* 80 and in the derivatives *κιδίων* *Aristoph. Nub.* 881, *κιδόεντος Ἀλεξ.* 276. Pomegranates might be mentioned as significant in respect of the marriage envisaged in the next verses; v. Allen and Halliday's note on *hy. Hom.* ii 372.

-ᾱς: the shortening of the vowel in the accusative plural of words of the first declension is characterized as Doric in places where this scansion is requisite (e.g., *Il.* viii 378 schol. A *ὁ δὲ Ζηνόδοτος . . . προφανείας . . . κυστέλλων τὴν τελευταίαν . . . ἔστι δὲ ἄκρατον Δώριον*, similarly scholl. B (Herodian) and T) and in places where it is an alternative not metrically determinable (e.g., *Theoc.* i 93 schol. K *διχῶς τὸ μοίρας. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκτεινόμενον, σημαίνει γενικήν, εἰ δὲ κυστελλόμενον, αἰτιατικὴν <τῶν> πληθυντικῶν Δωρικῶς*).

Since there is here no ambiguity as between genitive singular and accusative plural and the quantity of *ac* is not metrically determinable, the 'shorts' have no critical function, but are themselves inferred from the doctrine, as being in a Doric text. The same appears to be true of], *εἰᾱμυρ. ὦ.*, 2394 fr. 2(c) 5, the only other instance I have found.

(-ᾱς guaranteed by the metre is recognized in the Alcman quotation, fr. 17, 5; it seems to have been now dismissed from the Stesichorus quotation, fr. 7, 2. There appear to be no examples in the book-texts of Alcman, Stesichorus, Ibycus, or Simonides.)

δυ. ὦ.: as far as I know *δύω* is not more Doric than *δύο*; indeed I find it only a couple of times, in compounds in Pindar (*Nem.* iv 28, *Ol.* ii 50). And *ο* would in any case be scanned as long before γλ.

γλυκείας: I can verify neither -ει-, in the line, nor η, if that was superscribed. Except for Pindar and Bacchylides, there is a nearly complete lack of evidence about the representation of this ending in the *παράδοσις* of the relevant lyric poets. 2387 fr. 3 ii 3 (PMG 3) just fails to provide an instance for Alcman; -ηα may be elicited from the quotations *Alcm.* 6 (2391 fr. 21(c) 2, a commentary), *Alcm.* 14, but the authority of quotations is slight.

There is a reasonable likelihood that *ἄδει*[testifies to -ει[α in the *παράδοσις* of Simonides (2430 fr. 44, 8, PMG 519). [The agreement of the quotations (*Simon.* 48, 1; 103 fr. 1, 29?, PMG 553; 608) can obviously have no significance in the case of the common form.]

], *κειαν*[at 2443 fr. 1, 4 may be relevant or not.

4 seq. I can give no account of what stands between *δο* and *δη*, which I can read only as *πε*, nor understand the construction of *ποταμῶ*[ι], if the cancellation of ι converting dative to genitive is to be accepted. [*οτεδη*, i.e. *ταὶ δ' ὄτε δη*], does not seem excluded as a decipherment (E. G. T.)]

There is no *prima facie* difficulty, if the dative is retained, in construing 'they . . . prayed to the . . . river', but there are obscurities left that I cannot resolve.

Genitives in -ω are characteristic of the *παράδοσις* of Alcman. They are replaced by genitives in -ου in texts of Stesichorus, Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides, where -οιο also is admitted (and is preponderant in 'Ibycus', 1790), but not ω except in 'Pindar' fr. 333, in which -ω is reported at (a) 6; 7 but -ου at (d) i 9; 17? 2394 has several examples of genitive or accusative in which ω has ου written above.

4 *ταὶ δ'*:]*φρασαμαν μονός*[(2443 fr. 1, 8) and *ἀνιών* (2443 fr. 1, 12 and 3213 2) imply a single male speaker. On the *prima facie* natural assumption that *ταὶ* is nominative plural, the first interpretation that would occur to me is: they (women previously mentioned) prayed that they might achieve . . . wedlock, etc., the construction as at *Il.* iv 143 seq. *πολλές τέ μιν ἠρήσαντο ἰππῆες φορέειν*, *Hdt.* viii 94, 3 *νικῶσι ὅσον αὐτοὶ ἠρῶντο ἐπικρατήσαι*. I cannot reject this, but so far as I have been able to discover *γάμον τελεῖν* and comparable locutions are always used in reference to a man who obtains a wife, not a woman who obtains a husband, thus: *Hes. Cat.* 204 85 *ἐλπίμενοι τελέειν γάμον*, 211 5 seq. *ὡς . . . ἐτέλεσεν . . . γάμον* (Peleus), *Callim. hy. Apoll.* 14 *εἰ τελέειν μέλλουσι γάμον (οἱ παῖδες)*, *Ap. Rhod. Argon.* iv 1161 *οὐ . . . γάμον μενέαινε τελέσαι* (Jason), *Od.* iv 7 *τοῖσιν δὲ θεοὶ γάμον ἐξετέλειον*, *hy. Hom.* xix 35 *ἐκ δ' ἐτέλεσε γάμον* (Hermes), *Sapph.* 112 1 seq. *γάμβρε, σοὶ μὲν δὴ γάμος . . . ἐκτετέλεσται*. If this is not an imaginary difficulty, an alternative hypothesis might be to make the subject of the infinitive different

from the subject of the principal verb, the construction as in *hy. Hom.* vi 16 seq. ἤρῃσαντο ἕκαστος εἶναι κουριδίην ἄλοχον. But in view of the multiple ambiguities and uncertainties of l. 4 I refrain from offering further speculations.

καλλιρωω[ι]: if this and the next three verses are, as I suppose, dactylic tetrameters, καλλιρωω(ι) must be recognized here and ends of lines at ἀνδρά[ει and -χῆν. They would be written in couplets, the last dactyl in each being replaced by a cretic. Examples of this substitution, theoretically justified διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τέλους ἀδιάφορον *Heph. Ench.* xv 8, are not easy to find. Besides *Archil.* fr. 115, quoted by *Hephaestion*, and *Theocr. epig.* xx 2 I have nothing but 'Ibycus' 1790 i 24 (PMG 282) εὖ Ἐλικωνίδεε ἐμβαίεν λογ[, where a final long seems inescapable.

6 seq. '... experience those things that are . . . to women and men'.

πασειν made into πασ.ει.ν: the representation in certain places of θ as ε is peculiar to texts of Alcman and is not found in any of the other lyric poets. It should by itself suffice to determine attribution.

-ειν is inconsistent with -ῆν, l. 7; it has been brought nearer by superscribing η as an alternative (or correction). In company with ε for θ what might be expected on the strength of the analogies in texts of Alcman is -εν (i.e. -έν), which represents -εῖν at *Alcm.* i 17 (γαμεν), 43 (επαίνεν), 6 fr. 4, 4 (φιλεν). But this apparent consistency may be fortuitous; -ειν is spelt both -εν (φάμεν sc. εῖν) and -ην (ἀνδάνην) in the same manuscript, i 43, 88. Even wider divergences in the spelling of -εῖν are seen in what are taken to be manuscripts of Stesichorus, πολεμῆ[ιν, 2617 fr. 4 i 8,]φύγην with εἰ written below η, fr. 7 i 2, γαμεν 2618 fr. i ii 9. The single available example from Simonides presents the spelling -έν (θόρεν 2430 fr. 79, 12), from 'Ibycus' -ῆν (υμ]νῆν 1790 (a) 12). (There is apparently an instance of -εῖν for -εῖν in *Pindar, ἀγαγέν Pyth.* iv 56 not metrically protected; neither *Pindar* nor *Bacchylides* has any instances of -ῆν.)

]ατα: I suppose the general sense must be 'desirable'. χάρμ]ατα does not seem to me very attractive and I should say was too long, but I have nothing better to offer.

7 κουριδίος is the only vocalization of the first syllable found in any other place, except that in a fragment of a papyrus in Florence, published by *Snell* as *Pind.* fr. dub. 344, at col. ii 10 a verse begins κωριδ[, which may be a second instance of the same word and spelling.

κουριδιαν ἄλοχον is the only other instance of the word in a lyric poet (*Stesich.* 185 4, a quotation).

-ιδίαι τ' εὐνᾶς [τυ]χῆν seems clear enough; cf. (i) λέχος . . . κουριδιον *Il.* xv 39 seq., *Ar. Pax* 844 (κ.λ.), *Thesm.* 1122 (εὐνήν καὶ γαμήλιον λέχος); (ii) κουριδιων . . . ἐκύρηε γάμων *Anth. Pal.* vi 133 (*Archilochus*), *Pind. Pyth.* ix 41 (ἀδείας τυχεῖν . . . εὐνᾶς). But the genitive singular κουριδιᾶς has been marked by means of a superscribed υ, -ᾶς, as possibly a 'Doric' accusative plural. The same suggestion has not been made in regard to εὐνᾶς, and for that reason may be considered negligible. If in fact there was an ambiguity in a text presenting only -αις -ναις, it seems to point to [λα]χῆν, compatible with either case, and to rule out [τυ]χῆν, as the required supplement.

2394 (PMG 162) also contains fragments of lyric verses attributed to Alcman, like 3213, on the strength of dialectal characteristics. Between 2394 and 2443 there appears to be a correspondence of structure too marked to be dismissed as fortuitous but not exact enough to certify identity.

In the two tracts of text, one from either manuscript, shown below,

(a) two consecutive lines exhibit πει|εαν in the same vertical relation.

(The evidential value of this fact may be, but is not necessarily, impaired by the fact that εαν is followed by κ in 2443, a different letter, prima facie τ, in 2394.)

(b) three consecutive lines exhibit αν|υ|εκ in the same vertical relation.

In this apparent agreement there is some degree of illusion. 2443 has a whole line more than 2394, ending in another αν further to right by the breadth of a letter, or more, than αν in the preceding line, and consequently having υ|εκ in a different 'longitude' from 2394.

If there is anything in these observations, it must be supposed that the two manuscripts had different layouts or states of preservation.

2394 fr. i i (b) 4 is:

]φ[] . νετ' ουδεϊς[,

and there are neither above nor below ends of lines extending as far to r.

2443 fr. i, 7 is:

]εφ. [. . .] . υδεις. [,

and there are both above and below ends of lines extending as far as -εις. [, or farther.

2443 fr. 1, 1-7

. . . .
] . . [. . .
] περξ[
] εανκ . . [. . .
] κειαν[
] καλν[
] λαδ'έκ[
] εφ . [. . .] . νδεις . [, κτλ .

2394 fr. 13 has no relation to fr. 1 i (b) 4, but
 ll. 3 seqq. compare as shown with 2443 fr. 1,
 2 seqq.

] πε[
] εαντ[
] υμ[
] εκ[

3214. ANTHOLOGY (EURIPIDES)

45 5B.58/B(1-2)a

10 × 15 cm.

Second century

A fragment of papyrus from the lower part of a single column, broken at either side. The piece is unusual among papyrus anthologies in that it is a professionally executed manuscript. The text is written on the recto, in a largish round, upright, and ornamented book-hand, the type conventionally known as 'roman uncial'. This example does not have the lateral compression to which the style, like others, is prone: the letters are broad (omicron, for instance, has greater width than height), and the spacing between them is comparatively generous; not that the effect of distension is very marked, but it is an untypical palaeographical feature. P. Ryl. III 514 and P. Oxy. VIII 1084 are otherwise fairly similar; compare also XX 2260, XXIII 2354, XXXII 2634. (On the style see G. Cavallo, *Annali della scuola normale superiore di Pisa*, serie II, xxxvi (1967), 209-20, E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, ad no. 13.) The hand may be assigned with some confidence to the second century, and I would put it in the first half.

The calligraphic intent is reinforced by a curious feature of the layout. Each citation is headed by identification of its source: the script of this heading, which is centred, is reduced in size to almost half that adopted for the text of the quotations.

Five citations are represented. The first is unidentified, the remaining four are Euripidean: a pair of verses preserved in corrupt form by Stobaeus which now finds a home in either the Euripidean *Antigone* or the *Antiope*; a verse ascribed to the *Antiope*, also previously known from Stobaeus; what appears to be *Medea* 76, here attributed to the *Phoenix*; and a sequence of five verses from the *Protesilaus*, incorporating one quoted by Clement of Alexandria.

There are good grounds for thinking that the collection, or at least that section of it represented by the papyrus, was drawn exclusively from Euripides. The heading which identifies each extract takes the form of the title of the play in question, with *έκ*: e.g. *έξ Αντιόπης*. The papyrus is broken off to the left, but if the author as well as the play had been specified, the end of the dramatist's name would in some cases probably be visible. The inference from this apparent omission is perhaps not quite certain, for Euripides will invariably have been prominent in collections such as this, and one could conceive of a convention whereby the author was named only when he was someone other than Euripides. But the presumption is a strong one. Cf. XLII 3005, an anthology which appears to be wholly Menandrian.

The selected passages (with the theoretical exception of the first) all have to do with marriage. Extracts on marriage were collected at least as early as the second century B.C.: witness P. Berol. 9772 and 9773 (BKT V 2. 123–8, 129–33). These latter two collections show a close affinity with Stobaeus iv 22, the chapter entitled *περὶ γάμου*; virtually all of their citations which are not new are found there. A similar affinity with Stobaeus, with the chapter *περὶ δεσποτῶν καὶ δούλων* (iv. 19), is to be seen in P. Schub. 28 (Pack² 1579), also of the second century B.C., and most strikingly in the third-century papyrus edited by H. Maehler in *Mus. Helv.* 24 (1967), 70–3. Cf. also the second- or third-century Florence papyrus previewed by V. Bartoletti in *Atti XI Congr. Pap.* 1966, 1–14. Of the present papyrus's five citations, two recur in Stobaeus' *π. γάμου* chapter. The papyrus anthologies generally follow a less elaborated system of arrangement than Stobaeus, and 3214 is no exception. The two passages in common, the second and third in 3214, occur under Stobaeus' sections 5 and 4 respectively of the *π. γάμου* chapter. The bulk of Stobaeus' Euripidean extracts appears to have been taken from a compilation of Euripidean passages arranged in alphabetical order according to play title (see Stobaeus iii ed. Hense, *Prolegomena*, lv–lvii), but 3214, while it does appear to be confined to Euripides, does not follow an alphabetic order.

The back is blank.

For the fragments of Euripides, I have referred both to Nauck and to Mette, *Lustrum* 12 (1967) [fr. 1–1181] and 13 (1968) [fr. 1182–1470].

· · · · ·		
]γδρωνηνημεναν.[		× – υ –]γδρῶν ἦν μεν ἀνδ[× – υ –
]εξαντι'όπησ[		ἐξ Ἀντιόπης (vel Ἀντιγόνης?)
]λεκτ.αἶτ.κα.ω.[		ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔξω] λέκτρα αἶτ.καλῶς [ἔχειν
]ινδοις[...]ηρασο[		δίκαιόν ἐστ]ιν οἶσι κυ[γγ]ηράσο[μαι
]εξαντιοπης[	5	ἐξ Ἀντιόπης
]τοντονροφονκτ[		κῆδος καθ' αὐ]τὸν τὸν σοφὸν κτ[ᾶσθαι χρεῶν
]εκφοινεικος[		ἐκ Φοίνεικος
]ωνλειπεταικηδ.[		× – υ –]ων λείπεται κηδ.[υ –
]εκπρωτεσιλαου[		ἐκ Πρωτεσιλάου
]ουνμοισκα[ος].[	10	× – υ]ουν μοι σκα[ι]ός .[× – υ –
]αικοςουνεκ'ανλ.[		× – γυν]αικός οὐνεκ' ἂν λ.[– υ –
]του.ανδοκειτο.[		× – υ –]του.ανδοκεῖ το.[– υ –
]ειναιχρηνηγυνα.[		κοινὸν γὰρ] εἶναι χρῆν γυναι[κεῖον λέχος
]υτωσευγενειατ[		× – υ ο]ύτως εὐγένεια τ[– υ –

1 .[, trace of base horizontal as of δ 2 '., π, see comm. 3 τ represented by cross-stroke and top of upright: compatible only with τ, ζ, ξ?, not π . . ., a base trace seemingly oblique (downward from left) and a speck at letter top level, then equidistant between these and κ the top of an apparent upright, surface missing either side: οἰ acceptable 4 δ, breathing uncertain: anomalous

traces .[, foot of upright 8 .[, traces on isolated fibre level with letter tops: *oc* or *ev* not suggested, but neither excluded 10 □, room only for *ι* .[, traces suggesting *ε*, then perhaps left-hand side of cup of *υ* 11 λ, remains of lower half, perhaps *χ* also possible .[, base trace, of a serif or an oblique: of vowels, *α*, *η*, *ι* 12 ., surface thoroughly abraded: room for letter of medium size *υ* represented by right hand hasta and rubbed traces of possible oblique .[, mid-line trace perhaps of upright 13 .[upright

1 Apparently not extant. Presumably ἦν 'if', then either *μ' ἐν* (e.g. ἀ]νδρῶν ἦν μ' ἐν ἀνδ[ράειν τίθησ) or *μὲν* (e.g. ἀ]νδρῶν ἦν μὲν ἀνδ[ρείαν ἔχῃ). The absence of an *apostrophe* (11, *scriptio plena* at 3) tells against the former, though in itself that is perhaps the likelier articulation.

2 Some high ink between *ι* and *ο* does not look accidental; the trace suggests the foot of an upright, and could be taken as part of a supralinear *γ*, added with the intention of converting *Ἀντιόπης* to *Ἀντιγόνης*. *π* is now damaged. There seems no doubt that *π* was written, but it seems possible that it was altered to *ν*: there is perhaps a trace of a downward oblique joining the foot of the second hasta. I do not know whether one would be justified in taking the fact that the next citation is headed ἐξ *Ἀντιόπης* rather than, say, ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ δράματος as supporting intended ascription to the *Antigone*.

The papyrus's attribution is not necessarily the true one. Von Arnim (*Suppl. Eurip.* p. 17) has suggested that four citations ascribed in Stobaeus to the *Antiope* (among them the next in the papyrus) belong in fact to the *Antigone*. Similarly it is not easy to find accommodation for the present citation in the *Antiope*, whereas in the *Antigone* the lines could well be addressed to Creon by Haemon or by Antigone herself.

3-4 Eurip. fr. 1058N², 1291 Mette: hitherto *fabula incerta*. Preserved in corrupt form by Stobaeus in the section headed ὅτι ἐν τοῖς γάμοις τὰς τῶν συναππομένων ἡλικίας χρῆ σκοπεῖν (iv 22e. 113): ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔξω λέκτρ' αὐτοῖς καλῶς ἔχειν | δίκαιόν ἐστιν οἷσι συγγράσσομαι.

The lines have defied emendation. It is clear that the papyrus does not have the impossible αὐτοῖς, and the presumption is that it has the truth, lurking in the damaged two or three letters between ἀ and καλῶς. Given the traces (which exclude παγκάλως), I can suggest only ἄ τοι (so also E. G. Turner, J. R. Rea), 'I shall have a marriage which, let me tell you, it is right should be a good one—one in which I shall grow old' (sc. 'because I'll have married someone my own age'?—N.B. the Stobaeian section which houses it). This is good as a reading and offers ready explanation of the Stobaeian corruption, even if the particle does not seem to sit very comfortably. The Press reader suggests taking οἷσι as a generalizing masc. and construing it with καλῶς ἔχειν: '... which it is fair should be good for those I shall grow old with'. Given that λέκτρα can approximate to 'spouse', however, I prefer the interpretation I have offered.

6 Eurip. fr. 214N², 266 Mette: Stob. iv 22d. 43, with attribution, as here, to the *Antiope*. Tentatively ascribed to the *Antigone* by von Arnim (loc. cit.), together with fr. 212, 213, 215N². The papyrus does not prove him wrong: the postulated corruption could have taken place at practically any stage.

Cf. Aesch. *PV* 890, τὸ κηδεῦσαι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀριστεύει μακρῶ.

8 Almost certainly *Med.* 76, παλαιὰ καιν]ῶν λείπεται κηδευ[μάτων. Either we have here a misattribution (due to omission of the *Phoenix* quotation: perhaps fr. 804N²?) or else the verse had been used in both plays, or had got interpolated in the *Phoenix* (on repeated lines in Euripides see P. W. Harsh, *Hermes* 72 (1937) 435-49). I consider the former the more likely.

10-14 Line 13 is Eurip. fr. 653N², 871 Mette. The papyrus confirms Nauck's emendation of ἄρα καί to χρῆν (implicitly rejected by Mette). Cited in isolation by Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* vi 2. 24. 5 f. (p. 441. 13 Früchtel), it now acquires a context—or would do, if the tenor of the surrounding verses were intelligible. The speaker can hardly be anyone other than Acastus, but it is still not clear to me who (if anyone) is being addressed, nor what desirable thing would happen to εὐγένεια if monogamy were abandoned.

Obvious supplements for the beginnings of 10-11 are 10 ἐκεῖνος] οὖν, 11 (almost certain) ὅστις γυν]αϊκός. There are many things one might do for a woman's sake. If Acastus has anyone particular in mind, it must be Protesilaus; but he may be generalizing. Of 12 E. G. Turner notes, 'must presumably be -]τοῦσαν, fem. accusative present participle'. But we do expect a caesura. πανδοκεῖ, dat. of πανδοκεύς, would be apt enough in a gibe about Laodameia's supposed behaviour (see below—rather this, in the immediate setting, than in reference to Hades), though an adjective or feminine would be easier.

[πανδοκεύς unattested in tragedy, but I see no intrinsic objection to it in Euripides. πανδόκος ξενόστασις Soph. fr. 274P = 252N², δόμοις πανδόκοις ξένων Aesch. Cho. 662, neither with innuendo; πανδόκον (so to be accented) . . . χέρσον (Hades) Sept. 860.] πανδοκεῖ as verb (Aesch. Sept. 18) is perhaps not out of the question either.

With the expression of 13 f., cf. Med. 573-5, χρῆν γὰρ . . . θῆλυ . . . οὐκ εἶναι γένος, χούτως ἂν οὐκ ἦν οὐδὲν ἀνθρώποις κακόν.

Any attempted reconstruction of the plot of the *Protesilaus* is bound to be fanciful; and the previously known line is perhaps the most enigmatic of the far from transpicuous fragments. (F. Jouan, *Euripide et les légendes des chants cypriens* (1966), 323, makes it an exasperated reaction by Acastus to Laodameia's refusal to remarry, after Protesilaus' death at Troy. This is clearly desperate, and a perversely literal reading of the line.) But the accession of something of its immediate context does I think make one thing clear: the passage must be considered in close relation to the four verses that constitute fr. 657N² (still *Protes.*). There the man who damns all women without exception is said to be καιὸς κοῦ σοφός. Some women admittedly are bad, but some—like Laodameia (ἀντή)—have a λῆμα εὐγενές. The verbal recurrences suggest strongly that that passage is in some sense a retort to the present one.¹ This helps define the speaker's attitude: we want a ψόγος γυναικῶν. Is Acastus speaking in moral indignation and disillusionment, occasioned by what he mistakenly thinks to be Laodameia's faithlessness to her newly wed newly dead husband? (Hyg. fab. 104. 2, *quod cum famulus matutino tempore poma ei (sc. Laodamiaē) attulisset ad sacrificium, per rimam aspexit viditque eam †ab amplexu† Protesilai simulacrum tenentem et osculantem; aestimans eam adulterum habere Acasto patri nuntiavit.*) The point may then be sardonic, that if women are not to respect the institution of marriage, it would be better to abandon the futile attempt to maintain it: the resultant system being expressed in deliberately outrageous form. Cf. fr. 402N² (*Ino*). There the merit claimed for polygamy as against monogamy is that a man could throw out the κακή and keep the ἐσθλή. And here? What is the consequence for εὐγένεια (ἠύγένεια?)? Possibly that one's reputation as εὐγενής or δυσγενής would no longer depend upon birth (moral connotations of εὐγένεια played upon *passim* in Euripides, N.B. λῆμα ἔχουσαν εὐγενές in fr. 657). We cannot be sure the quotation ends here: it may have continued in the next column.

3215. TRAGIC TRIMETERS

Second century

The hand of one and the same copyist is to be recognized in PSI XIII 1302 and 3215 fr. 1 and 2. 3215 fr. 1 and PSI 1302 resemble one another in size of writing, in number (20) of lines to the column, and, it is natural to infer, in lavishness of layout, though only the upper margin of 3215 fr. 1 now survives for comparison. In PSI 1302 a speaker ends a speech, 'any man who trusts a slave we count a great fool.' There is nothing to which this appears relevant in the preceding verses as preserved in PSI 1302. In the speech of which parts of 20 lines are preserved in 3215 fr. 1 a good proportion consists of references to slave and freeman.

It seemed reasonable on the basis of these congruences to suppose that 3215 fr. 1 represented the column immediately preceding that represented by PSI 1302, but the

¹ Not perhaps an immediate or direct retort, for the tone is mild and considered. It would be appropriate towards the end of the play: whether in the mouth of the chorus, or as the final comment of a messenger announcing Laodameia's suicide (the reference back to Acastus' outburst then being a piece of unconscious irony), or as a revelation *ex machina*, or as a retraction by Acastus himself, after learning (too late to save her?) of the unworthiness of his suspicions. On the other hand, fr. 654N² would make an admirably suitable comment by the chorus if the passages belong to either side of an *agon* (δουῖν λεγόντων, θατέρου θυμουμένου, | ὁ μὴ ἀντιτείνων τοῖς λόγοις σοφώτερος).

marginal note to right of l. 2 is not, so far as I can judge from PSI XIII tav. 3, in the same hand as the two marginal notes to left of 1302 ll. 1 and 3, or in the same relative position as either of them. If the two columns are not contiguous, there is no particular case for thinking them connected.

This copyist has been identified in a number of manuscripts produced on the same handsome scale and containing sometimes Sophocles, sometimes Euripides: PSI 1302, Eur. *Alcm.*, and 3215 fr. 1, having 20 lines to the column; 2077, Soph. *Scyrians*, 2452, Soph.? (Eur.?) *Theseus*, having more than 20 lines to the col.; 3215 fr. 2, Eur. *Hec.* 223-8 from the top of a column of indeterminate height; a number of scraps not as yet published of which the source is not ascertained. I should likewise incline to attribute to him Antiphon Soph., π. ἀληθ., in 1364, Aeschin. Socr., *Μιλτιάδης*, in 2889, though these have a different *v*.

Fr. 1

	.νελευ[.]ερω[ ] [		.ν ἐλευ[θ]έρω[.]
	]ματου νεανίου χρη.[		]μα τοῦ νεανίου
	]αντα συνκείνωι πόνους		]αντα σὺν κείνωι πόνους
	]δουλον ενδομοι σεχειν		]δούλον ἐν δόμοις ἔχειν
5	]ν' οἶδε σου κακίονες		]ν. οἱ δὲ σοῦ κακίονες
	]αικρατου σιδωμάτων		]καὶ κρατοῦσι δωμάτων
	]σι· σὺ δε τι προσδοκῶν ποτε		]σι· σὺ δὲ τί προσδοκῶν ποτέ
	]νει· μὴ μεθῆς' ἐλευθερον		]νει· μὴ μεθῆ' ἰ' ε' ἐλεύθερον.
	]ολλακιδενουθετει		π]ολλάκις δὲ νουθετεῖ
10	]οικοι σι πολ[.]μιώτατος		]οἴκοις πολ[ε]μιώτατος
	]δουλονι τε ^α λ[.]υθερον		]δούλον ὄντ' ἐλ[ε]ύθερον
	]... [ ]αηγενοίτετι		]... [ ]αν η γένοιτ' ἔτι
	]υμαρω σελευθερον		ε]υμαρῶς ἐλεύθερον
	]... [ ]... [ ]ργοις· κεαρ		]... [ ]... [ ]ργοις· κέαρ
15	]γωνουπανομαι εὐλογῶν[		εὐ λέ]γων οὐ παύομαι
	]... [ ]της πατηρμενονν [		δεσ]π[ό]της, πατήρ μὲν οὖν
	]μεδω		
	]κασειδομους [		μ' ἔδω]κας εἰς δόμους
	]γιγνώσκεις αν·ρ [		]γιγνώσκεις ἀν·ρ
	]... [ ]... [ ]αξίειτις [		]... [ ]... [ ]λάξίει τις
20	]υθερον []ημ[		ἐλε]ύθερον

1], traces near the line, possibly the bottom right-hand curve of ω 2 marg. μ[not verifiable
4], ν (represented by the lower end of the diagonal and the right-hand upright) sug-

gested 12]... , the top of a heavy upright, followed by the top of a stroke slightly hooked to right, and this by the upper end of a light stroke rising to right; if the last represented κ , a narrow letter might follow before α 14]...[, a slightly concave upright, perhaps the right-hand side of θ , followed by what now look like the right-hand side of a small loop and the upper end of a thick stroke descending to right, both level with the top of the letters]...[, a flat stroke, as of γ , with traces, apparently compatible with ϵ , at the right-hand end 18 $\alpha\nu, \rho$, between ν and ρ faint traces not suggesting η 19]... , a trace level with the top of the letters

I have found no identifiable quotation in these verses. PSI 1302 is identified as from Euripides *Ἀλκμέων* by the presence of fr. 86. The style of this speech is compatible with the same authorship.

7 i.e. *τί ποτε προσδοκῶν* . . . ; and this is by far the commoner order in Euripides, and, I think, the other tragedians.

8 I suppose metaphorical, 'set free' a slave, but physical liberation is expressed by the same phrase, v. Eur. *Hec.* 551 seqq.

14 *κέαρ* is a much more noticeable feature of the vocabulary of Sophocles than of Euripides (only in *Medea*, twice).

15 The marginal entry looks like a variant not a comment. The supplement suggested might acceptably be accompanied by such a variant. But it should be said that in Euripides, at any rate, *εὖ λέγειν* much oftener means 'speak well' than 'speak well of' (e.g. *Alc.* 1070), and that *εὐλογεῖν* is much oftener employed than *εὖ λέγειν* when a word for 'praise' is wanted.

16 The supplement assumes that what was said came to 'more like a father than a master', cf. e.g. Eur. *Or.* 1520 seq. *μὴ πέτρος γένηι δέδοικας* . . . ; *μὴ μὲν οὖν νεκρός*, Soph. *Aj.* 862 seq.

18 Presumably *ἀνὴρ*, ϵ being insufficient for the space.

Fr. 2

Hecuba ll. 223–8

]ναιθυματοςδεπιστα[
]πεστητουδειααχιλλ[
225]^{..c}[ον.]μηταποσπασθ.[
 '...]ιλλ[.]νεξεελθ[
]α[.]πα[.]...[
][

.

This scrap is in the same hand as PSI XIII 1302 and 3215 fr. 1, but contains verses from a surviving play, to the text of which it contributes nothing.

224 *ἐπέστη* codd., Σ : *ἐπέσται* Nauck 225 *δράσων* M, P, (*τὰ κατὰ τῶν ἀντιγράφων Σ*), *δρασει* A, L, sscr. M¹ -*σπάσης* L 227 *καὶ παρουσίαν* cum codd. praeter L (*καὶ κακῶν*)

3216. TRAGEDY

5 1B.57/G

3 × 11 cm.

Second century

A fragment apparently of a tragedy, written in a small, round and upright hand, similar to XXI 2294 except in so far as it is more freely serified and in the case of ϵ and c less rounded. XXI 2301 may also be compared. The hand may be assigned a date around the middle of the second century, or later rather than earlier. On the back there are illegible remains of one line, written across the fibres in a crude documentary hand.

Eistheses divide the remnant into three sections. The first two have their beginnings preserved and are evidently lyric; the latter of these is indented in relation to the former. Any restoration of the third section will project its beginnings further to the left than the first, so that there were two degrees of *eisthesis*. The doubly indented section is presumably an epode, and the unindented lines are likely to be trimeters, though trochaics are not excluded.

The evidence for authorship does not point in any one direction. $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$ (7) is found among the tragedians only in Euripides, being used twice in the extant plays and attested for him as the *lexis* of fr. 1123 Nauck². This hardly adequate ground for attribution to Euripides is made still less secure by $\zeta\chi\epsilon\iota$ (19), which is characteristically (though not only) Sophoclean. Of the subject-matter little can be said other than that mention is made of Apollo and of oracles and that there may be some connection with the Trojan war.

The lection signs appear to be by the first hand. There are four stops in middle position. A correction at 4 has been added in a thin pen, perhaps by the copyist; another hand seems to be responsible for the insertion of an iota adscript in 6. A corruption in 18 is uncorrected.

.
].[
 τονζο.[
 προσφ[
 δ'
 λεγε·ει[
 5 φροντ[.]δι[
 λυηδεπουω[
 ειδ'αλιαστον[
 αλλησβουλη[
 χρειανηκε.[
 10 αναξπ[
 πουκεκ[
 κονομμ[
 καμιοι[
 οιβουτ.[
 15 χρησμω.[
 καιφρυγω[
 δοριχηρηλα[
 νεοποιδουστιν[
 ντασιχειτακ[
 20]γαρουχοιοντ'ερ[
].ςμεν[
]ησφα[
]λωταςθ[
]μενουδ[
 25]γξαι·cv.[
]δηπα·λν[
]ηγεμ[

2 .[, speck at line level 5 [.] , room only for narrow letter δ, base only, ζ perhaps not excluded ι[, a possible, hardly ε or ο 7 ει, ink at foot of ι to left: offsets? letter overwritten?
 9 .[, trace at line level, perhaps of upright (e.g. ι) 14 ., trace apparently of descender on isolated fibre
 .[, low trace of apparent curve 14/15 What is transcribed as a paragraphus appears not to be on the top layer of papyrus, and is in a lighter ink. Two further traces can be discerned at some distance to the left 15 .[, foot of upright 18 The first ο is open to the left, but no other reading is possible 21]., speck at mid-line level 23 θ[, or ε 25 .[, upper part of upright, with trace perhaps of horizontal leaving at top, e.g. γ

2 ζόφον, ζοφερόν.

5 As a reading, φροντ[ι]δι has the edge on φροντ[ι]ξ̄-

7 ἀλίαςτον: in tragedy at Eurip. *Hec.* 85, *Or.* 1479 (ἀλαστος Wilamowitz), fr. 1123N² (a lexis in isolation, referred by Nauck to *Hec.* 85).

9/10, 17/18 Apparently the paragraphus is used to divide one choral section from the next, and the *diple obelismene* to mark the end of the lyrics. Dramatic papyri exemplify various systems of signs. Cf. Anecd. Paris., 'diple obelismene ad separandas in comoediis et tragoediis periodos', and the more comprehensive treatment of Hephaestion, π. *σημείων* 5-11.

10 In view of Φοίβου at 14, probably Π[ύθιος or Π[ύθιε; κόν (12) suggests the vocative. Π[αιάν and Π[όσειδον are other possibilities.

11 κεκ[: part of κρύπτειν?

14/15 The 'paragraphus' (see apparatus) is presumably without significance.

17 δόρι: the accent distinguishes δορί from δόρει.

18-27 It seems reasonable to assume that these lines are iambics. I would suppose the first foot to be missing from 18, 19, and 20.

18 νεόποις: the accent precludes correction to νεοτοίς. The palaeographically closest word I can think of is νεόρτοις (Π for PT); which would scan in iambics.

19]ντας ἔχει.

τὰκ[: crasis is implied, τὰκ-

20] γὰρ οὐχ οἶόν τ' ἔρ[-.

23 ἀ]λώτας? But other articulations are open.

25 τέ]γξαι, ἐλέ]γξαι, κλά]γξαι, *al.* In this line and the following, the stop probably coincides with the caesura. The collocation δῆ πας, however (26: but not necessarily δῆ), occupies the third foot at Soph. fr. 760N.

3217. MENANDER, *Sicyonius*

26 3B.51/D(1-2)b

2.7 × 4.8 cm.

Late first century

This scrap of dramatic dialogue is written in the same hand as X 1238 (now Kassel, *Sicy.* fr. 11), a rounded uncial dated by Grenfell and Hunt to the late first century A.D. Because of the marginal and interlinear addition of names of characters 1238 was identified as belonging to the *Sicyonius* of Menander (see *Recherches de Papyrologie* 3 (1964) 154), although its position in the play has never been established. An interlinear pi (line 3), presumably forming part of an abbreviation of the name Pyrrhias (but cf. Kassel ad *Sicy.* fr. 11), suggests strongly that this scrap belongs not only to the same play but to the same scene as 1238. Attempts to align the two fragments have been unsuccessful. The back is blank.

→

· · · · ·
]νεαθ[

]εαναντο[

π[

]τιν: ..[

]ποδων.[

5

]·ερ[

]·ερουε[

]με.[

· · · · ·

- 1 θ [, top of the letter is broken off, but θ is more likely than ϵ .
 3 Below and slightly to the right of π [, traces of 2 letters: a cross-stroke ligatured to an upright, then a trace of ink at foot level.
 4 .[broad, round-bottomed letter with trace of ink below, ϕ or ψ possible, if the trace is part of the letter; if it is stray ink, ϵ , θ , \omicron , ω may be considered.
 5]. perhaps feet of λ or χ , then ϵ or θ followed by traces like the ρ in line 6.
 6 $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ [α or sim.? Cf. *Sicy.* 411 and fr. 11. 2 (1238 2). Only a dot of ink on a broken fibre remains of the initial letter.
 7 .[, low trace, sloping up to right, foot of δ , λ or χ . α has too rounded a base.

3218. NEW COMEDY

4 1B.61/F(a)

Fr. 1 5 × 5 cm.
Fr. 2 2.5 × 3 cm.

First century

Two small fragments written along the fibres of a buff-coloured papyrus, so well made that while the horizontal fibres are stripped in several places the vertical fibres present an almost undamaged surface. Fr. 1, from the top of a column, contains ends of 7 lines of iambic trimeters; fr. 2 has parts of 6 lines.

Similar patterns of vertical fibres on the backs suggest that fr. 2 belongs below fr. 1 with its front right-hand edge in the same vertical alignment as the corresponding edge of fr. 1. It is even possible that fr. 1. 7 and fr. 2. 1 are parts of the same line, but attempts to place the fragments in that relationship have not proved completely satisfactory and it seems more likely that they were somewhat further apart.

The scribe wrote an informal round hand in which elegantly formed letters with serifs occur alongside forms much more cursively written. Compare E. G. Turner, *GMAW*, Pls. 37–8, which are dated to the early and late first century respectively. This hand exhibits characteristics found in both of these plates. A second hand has made the marginal correction at fr. 1. 2. The only lectional sign is a dicolon at fr. 1. 6.

The speaker of $\mu\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\acute{\varsigma}$ (fr. 1. 4) is designated by $\bar{\Gamma}$, i.e. by an ordinal number standing for third actor. For dramatic texts with parts similarly designated see XXVII 2458 (Eur., *Cresphontes*) and PSI X 1176 (New Comedy). The significance of this notation is discussed by E. G. Turner in 2458 introd. and by E. G. Jory, 'Algebraic Notation in Dramatic Texts', *BICS* 10 (1963) 65–78.

There is little of situation or language, in spite of the name Moschion (fr. 1. 5, fr. 2. 3), which suggests an identity for the fragments.

The back is occupied by writing in a serified informal hand of the first or early second century; there is little to establish context beyond $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta\rho\acute{\omega}\theta\eta$ (fr. 1. 4) and $\theta\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ (fr. 2. 2), which might point to romance. A diplomatic transcript only is provided.

Fr. 1

→	]οιταυτημιδων		]οι ταύτην ιδών
	λιθο[
	]διαντεχωννεου		Αυ]δίαν τ' ἔχων λίθο[ν
	]μαδικεισμαρτυρομα[ι		]μ' ἀδικεῖς. μαρτύρομα[ι
	]νοηγ̃ματους θεους		]νοη. Γ. μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς.
	]κλαιωνμοσχίων	5	]κλαίων Μοσχίων
	].ζ[...ιτσι: [[πειυ]]		].ζ[εἴτσι:
].[].[

Fr. 2

].[].[
	]ροσηκομα[		π]ροήκομα[ι
	]μοσχίων[		] Μοσχίων [
	]ατελιπον[		κ]ατέλιπον [
	]εισεγω βλ[	5	]εις ἐγὼ βλ[
	]μελλε[		]μελλε[

Fr. 1 2 νεου corrected to λιθον by m² 5]κ, stroke curving up to right, definitely suggesting κ 7].[, a rounded letter, c or ε rather than ο

Fr. 2 1].[, a descender 6]μ, trace of upstroke and right descender

Fr. 1 2 The scribal error suggests that the copying was done by eye rather than dictation. E. W. Handley observes that in some writing styles the words νέου and λίθον might be easily confused.

Αυδία λίθος: the touchstone used to distinguish false gold from true and, by extension, apparently a commonplace allusion to detecting the truth or falsity of a situation. No doubt entirely appropriate to New Comedy. See *Corp. Paroem. Gr.* ii on *Αυδία λίθος* (Macar. v 75) and *βάκανος λίθος* (Greg. Cyp. i 64 and note). Compare Bacchylides, fr. 10: *Αυδία μὲν γὰρ λίθος μανύει | χρυσόν*, Theocritus xii 37: *Αυδίη ἴσον ἔχειν πέτρῃ στόμα* and Sophocles' *Alexander*: *ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄτλας γὰρ βάκανος ἢ Αυδὴ λίθος* in H. Hunger, 'Palimpsest-fragmente aus Herodians *καθολικὴ Προσφδία*', *J. OE. Byz.* 16 (1967) 7.

4]νοη: most probably part of a verb, *κατα]νοη* or sim. It might also be from a proper name, i.e. *Χρυσονόη*, *Λευκονόη*, but I find no such name in New Comedy.

Γ̄: the appearance of the text suggests that the scribe found the notation Γ̄ in his original for he has written it in continuously without separation or a break of any kind. It is unlikely that this text was ever used as a production copy, although it was probably copied from one.

6 πειυ[deleted: probably the next line begun in error.

3218 Back

Fr. 1

↓]τοτεπρωτονεπ[
]τομοσηνοπαρ[
]ντηναλεξανδ[
]θυσεπηρωθη κα[
 5]ερανου[...]ειδε[
]..[

Fr. 2

. . .
]..[.].[
]υθεαστ[.
]ετην α[
]ηκουτη[
 5]λακα...[

3219. TREATISE ON PLATO?

Second century

Of the following scraps, the two most considerable and some at least of the others have to do with the dialogues of Plato. The work appears to be a monograph, and the remains would be consistent with a work 'on Plato and the dialogue', but I cannot say whether this adequately reflects its scope. Fr. 1 describes Plato's indebtedness to Sophron as being 'in respect of the dramatic' (if the obvious emendation is correct), and, alleging βασκανία against Plato on Aristotle's part, repudiates the assertion made by Aristotle in the *De Poetis* (quoted by Athenaeus and alluded to by Diogenes Laertius) that Alexamenus of Teos (Tenos *apud* pap.) was the first to write dialogues—or dramatic dialogues, as the papyrus qualifies. Fr. 2 states that Plato uses the four characters Socrates, Timaeus, the Athenian Stranger, and the Eleatic Stranger as mouthpieces for his own doctrines, and asserts that the Strangers represent Plato and Parmenides. There is evidently a connection of some kind with Diogenes Laertius (DL) 3. 52, where a similar statement is made, except that there the identification of the Strangers with the two philosophers is expressly denied. Some scantier fragments seem to be concerned with the historical development of tragedy: conceivably in a comparison of the respective developments of philosophy and tragedy on a more elaborate scale than that found at DL 3. 56.

In *BICS* 19 (1972) 17–38, I have attempted to reach an understanding of the critical theory underlying the surviving text and have investigated, without positive result, the authorship of the work and its relationship with DL.

The hand is a rather small, rounded example of a not uncommon type, with a slight backward slant. Omicron, more variable than most letters, is usually small and often high, and the beginning of the 'mixed' style may be discerned in the broad kappa and delta. The hand may be assigned a date around the middle or the second half of the second century. XXI 2306 and XVIII 2159 are comparable in so far as most of the letters are made in the same movements, but the former is less well formed and

shows more freedom with ligatures, while the latter is a more formal hand with a clear tendency to make all the letters the same size.

High stops are used, and *paragraphi* apparently mark off sentences. Apart from the occasional enlargement of the first letter of a word, there are no other lectional aids. The back is blank.

I am glad to have been able to consult partial transcripts by Mr. Lobel and by Professor Turner and a full transcript and some notes by Mr. Parsons.

Fr. 1

9.6 × 5.8 cm.

]. [
	..]ικιλον[c. 6]φ[.]ρ[...]. [....]. υς	
	.]ντουτωκ[....]. φρον[.]μειμησαμε	ἐ]ν τούτῳ κ[αὶ C]ώφρον[α] μειμησάμε-
	ροστονμιμογραφονκατοδραμα	νος τὸν μιμογράφον κα(τὰ) τὸ δραμα-
5	τικοντωνδιαλογωνουγαρπεις	τικὸν τῶν διαλόγων· οὐ γὰρ πεις-
	τ. οναριστοτελειωποτησπροσπλα	τέον Ἀριστοτέλει ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς Πλά-
	τωναβασκανιαςε[.]ποντιεντω	τωνα βασκανίας ε[ι]πόντι ἐν τῷ
	πρωτωπεριποιητικησκαιπρο	πρώτῳ περὶ Ποιητικῆς καὶ πρὸ
	πλατωνοςγεγραφθαιδραματικους	Πλάτωνος γεγράφθαι δραματικοὺς
10	.....]. [....]. [..]λεξαμενουτηριου	διαλόγ[ου]ς ὑπ' [Ἀ]λεξαμενοῦ Τηνίου
	c. 12].....]φεικταισυν	
	c. 18]ετις.....	
	

- 2 υ[, or ι ; υ scarcely poss. φ, ρ, tails only] , [, bottom of upright: ρ, τ, ι?] , υς, or] . [.] υς
 10] , [,] . [, too slight for identification but compatible with 2nd transcript 11] , [, minimal
 12 , tops only: three upright or oblique strokes, high traces at end (poss. 'ο')

There are negligible traces of a second column

Fr. 2

(a) 11.0 x 6.5 cm., (b) 5.3 x 5.3 cm.

Col. ii

(b)
]εγε[
 διαπαντων[
 τωνεστινω[
 νικαδιατουτ[
 5 τα ποικιλλεινδε[
 διαλογουσπη[
 πηδεδιατειμα[
 ουτινοσξενου[
 αυτου.[
 10 ν . . . [
 επ[

Col. i

↑
 8 lines
 ↓

(a)
] . [.
]σπρωταγορασ]ε . . . των
]χομενωνπαρ αυτω ταδε
]ωδοκουντα αποφαινεταidia
 5]ρωσωνωνωκ ουστειμαι
]ουαθηναiouξ[.]τουελεα
]ξενου ειεινδ[.]ατηςξεν
]θηναιοςξενο[.]τωνκαι
]ενιδησαλλαδιαδραματι
 10]σποιοιμενοστουσδιαλογουσ
]]νακαιανειδωλο
]νυμοναθηναι 10
]μενοστογ

π[ελεγ]χομένων παρ' αυτω· τα δε
 λη[αυτω δοκοუნτα αποφαινετα δια
 5 τεο[5 δ π]ρωσώνων, σωκράτουσ, Τειμαί-
 δε[ου, τ]ου Αθηναίου ξ[ένου,] του Έλεά-
 5 ονκαιτο.[του] ξένου· ειειν δ' [ό Έλε]άτης ξένο(σ)
 τιααλληλο[χω Α]θηναίος ξένο[σ Πλά]των και
 ελεγχομ[Παρ]μενίδησ· αλλά
 ουδεταυπο[
 γ·λοιπωνλεγ[
 10 μετ αυ[.] . [.] . [.]
]λε[

The distance between (b) and (a) may be calculated by alignment of the verso fibres. The estimate of a gap of eight lines has a margin of error of no more than a single line either way.

Col. i 2], a or, better, o .[, o, ω, σ]ε, or κ; then seemingly anomalous letter, perhaps α or ο; then low speck; perhaps another letter lost before τ τ, or ι or ρ 11][, slight traces on

loose fibre] (ante ν), high trace suggesting ι, but ο, ω, α cannot be excluded 13 ετ, or
 cτ . . ., tops only: αθη poss.
 Col. ii (b) 3 φ[, ο less good 9 .[, β better than δ, φ, μ? 10 .[, δε poss. 11 π[,
 or ι (a) 3 ρ[, ε less good 5 .[, low speck 6 ια, η less good? 10 ε, α less good
].[.].[, three high specks

Fr. 3

.
]μ...[
]νδιονυσογ[
]πιτυποκρι
]ω[.].ζενε
 5]να[.].

Fr. 4

.
]δ[.].λθ[.
]ε[.]αδετουτογ[.
]υτερουνοποκ[.
]φοκλησδ[.

 1 θ, or ε 3], ε poss.

Apparently, on external and internal evidence alike, from the same vicinity as fr. 4. J. R. Rea suggests combining the fragments so as to make 3. 3 ff. the line-ends of 4. 1 ff.; this is possible but I cannot confirm it. The fibres on the back point, though not definitively, to another combination: ω at 3. 4 in alignment above ν 4. 2.

1 Perhaps μορ[4], low curve:
 ε, ε, η, α? 5], high trace, possibly end of
 a final alpha

Fr. 5

.
]ωντρ[
].ντο[.
]ωδ[.].ενφ[
]ατραγωδιαν[
 5].απολλωκ[.
]αλεγοντων`πρω[
]πηγαγεν[.
]ντ[.].[.].[
]πρω[

2], anomalous ο? .[, θ, τ? 5 α and
 κ enlarged], η, ν, ι .[, ν, α? 6 `ρ', or ω, α
 7]π, or τ, ε

Fr. 6

.
]δραμ[
]πону[

 2]π, or]απ

Fr. 7

.
]γορα[
]ηιδρ[
]λε[
]φερο[
 5].[.]ηιαι[
]ειπνοι[
].[.].[

4 ρ[, or ε 6], minimal (Postscript:
 The papyrus has suffered damage and the latter
 part of 5 now reads ηια[.]

Fr. 8

.
]. . [
]. αιον [
]ειδηκα . [
]υδοκουν [
 5]ιτωντεςς [
]ωναυταγ . [

2], ι or ν best, μ just poss., not β
 high trace: κ, τ, ι, ρ, αλ. 5]ι, or ν
 high speck 6 .[,

Fr. 9

.
]τξεκ [
]γηνυπο . [
]εριτωνπ [
]τωδειξ [
 5]... [

2 υ enlarged 3 π[, τ less good

Fr. 10

.
]. [
]περ [
]προ [
]λογος [
 5]κ[.]κρι . [
]. . . .]φ [
]αλληλο . [
] .]ραε . [
]κξ [

3]π, perhaps]αι 7 .[, ι, υ poss.
 8 .[, σ, θ, ο?

Fr. 12

.
]α]ρ [
]οσοφιασαλλε [
]κατεπ [
]κτονα [
 5]ωρη . [
]εν [

4 a enlarged 5]ω, or ο .[, τ poss.

Fr. 11

Top (?)

]ορι[c. 6]φ [
]στ . . .]λαουθ [
]δεπ[.]ατ[.]ντηντ [
]οφιανισταπρωτα [
 5]ηδιαλεκτικον [
]τικονωνκυρι [
]οστοδιαλεκτικ [
]. τωνπολειτικ [
]στηνθεωριαν [
 10]ενν[.]χ . .]αζλε . [

2 .[, η, ι? 6]τ, or ε; θ less good
 10 . . , or .[.]: ε[.] poss. ζ, perhaps ι .[, υ sug-
 gested, perhaps λ

Fr. 13

.
]. τω [
]οστ [

1] .[, ι, υ

	Fr. 14		Fr. 15
	]ωνα.[	. . . . .	]..[
	]τερον.[		]ημε[
	].[..]ο[		]νωναλ[
	. . . . .		]ηθ[
1	a enlarged		5]τω[
		

	Fr. 16		
].[
	]ινεπανορθου[
	]ικονομικ[		Fr. 17
	]καιθοκα.[	. . . . .
5	]τεεστινβε[].[
	]εριπαντας[		]τον.[
	]λειπ.[		]τοδ[
	]ολην[		]λειτικ[
	]ζειτο.[	. . . . .
10	]τρια.[
	]γοκ[
		

	Fr. 18		Fr. 19
	
	]γυ[		..]φ[...].α...].λεκ[
	]οξ..[		εξουρουσατηω[
	]ςμεθοδους		δουσατημαθημ[
	]ξεωσκαιπα		ποθετο[.]εστι.[
5	].[..].[...].υ	5	..]ξις...].οντ[
	].εαποδε[		. . . . .
	].ε.[
		

1 φ, tip of descender δι[α]λεκ[poss. 2 ω[,
or ς, less good 4 .[, prob. ν or γ 5 ..],
or ...] ..[, rubbed [..], or [...]

Fr. 20

.
]θετ[...]τασα[
]ξεωσμεθόδους[
].ιαλεκτικ[
]μνητοι[
 5]ωκενεπε[
]ταιαγ.[
].ικοςκ[
]νηλ.[
]..[

6 γ, or π

8 [, θ or ε suggested

Fr. 21

.
 λαβειν.[
δειχθη[
 .ητικου[
 .]ικονμω.[

 3 ., θ or ρ 4 φ., or φν

Fr. 23

Col. i Col. ii

.
]ε[
]ψομε[
]καιτας[
]δυνα [τ[
 5]νεφα αυ[
] δε[
]υ κη.[

Fr. 22

Col. i Col. ii

.
]λαι τξ[
]. κξ.[
 γουμ[
 εστ[
 5 ξ..[
 .[

Fr. 25

Fr. 24

.
 .[
λαμ[
 τικ[

.
]ωσκ.[
] τ̄[
]εινακ[
].ισητο[

Fr. 26

.
]...[
]και[
]υκ[

Fr. 27

].λ[

Fr. 1 'meanwhile(?) imitating Sophron the mimewriter too in respect of the dramatic element of the dialogues; for Aristotle is not to be believed when he says in his malice against Plato, in 'On Poetry' (*vult* 'On Poets') bk. 1, that dramatic dialogues had been written even before Plato by Alexamenus of Tenus.'

2 ποικίλον, cf. ποικίλλειν 2 ii 5.

3-5 Comparable statements are made by (1) DL 3, 18, δοκεῖ δὲ Πλάτων καὶ τὰ Σώφρονος τοῦ μιμογράφου βιβλία ἡμελημένα πρῶτος εἰς Ἀθήνας διακομίσαι καὶ ἡθοποιῆσαι πρὸς αὐτόν,

(2) Olympiodorus, *Vita Platonis*, 3, ἔχαιρε δὲ πάνν καὶ Ἀριστοφάνει τῷ κωμικῷ καὶ Σώφρονι, παρ' ὧν καὶ τὴν μίμησιν τῶν προσώπων ἐν τοῖς διαλόγοις ὠφελήθη· κτλ.,

(3) Anon., *Prolegomena in Platonis dialogos*, 3, ἐξήλωσεν δὲ καὶ Σώφρονα τὸν γελωτοποιόν, τὴν μιμητικὴν ὥσπερ κατορθῶσαι βουλόμενος· ὁ γὰρ διάλογος γράφων μίμησιν προσώπων εἰσάγει, and

(4) Tzetzes, *Chil.* 10. 806-10, which is vaguer but important for the authority cited, . . . ἀφ' οὐδερ (sc. τοῦ Σώφρονος βιβλίου) ἐμιμήσατο γράφειν τοὺς διαλόγους, | ὡς ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις φαίνεται ὁ Τίμων διαγράφων, cf. *ibid.* 11. 8-10, ἐκ μίμων δὲ τοῦ Σώφρονος μιμεῖται διαλόγους. | ὁ Σώφρων ὅσα γράφει γὰρ εἰς τῶν ἀμοιβαίων, | ἐρώτησιν, ἀπόκρισιν, εὐμπαντα κεκτημένα.

Our author is unique among ancient writers in describing Plato's debt to Sophron expressly in terms of 'the dramatic'.

8 π. ποιητικῆς: in error for π. ποιητῶν, the less well known work, as in fr. 75, 76, 77 Rose. The passage in question is quoted by Athenaeus, 11. 505c, and alluded to by DL 3, 48, the matter under discussion being in either case the *eûreia* of the dialogue form: fr. 72 Rose, F17 E. Mensching, *Favorin I.*

Athen. 11. 505c: ἐγκώμια αὐτοῦ (τοῦ Μένωνος) διεξέρχεται ὁ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαξαπλῶς κακολογήσας (Πλάτων), ἐν μὲν τῇ πολιτείᾳ Ὁμηρον ἐκβάλλον καὶ τὴν μιμητικὴν ποίησιν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς διαλόγους μιμητικῶς γράψας, ὧν τῆς ἰδέας οὐδ' αὐτὸς εὐρετής ἐστι. πρὸ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦθ' εὗρε τὸ εἶδος τῶν λόγων ὁ Τίμος Ἀλεξαμενός, ὡς Νικίας ὁ Νικαεὺς ἱστορεῖ καὶ Σωτίων. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ ποιητῶν οὕτως γράφει "οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ ἐμμέτρους τοὺς καλουμένους Σώφρονος μίμους μὴ φῶμεν εἶναι λόγους καὶ μιμήσεις, ἢ τοὺς Ἀλεξαμενοῦ τοῦ Τίμου τοὺς πρῶτους γραφέντας τῶν Σωκρατικῶν διαλόγων;" ἀντικρὺς φάσκων ὁ πολυμαθέστατος Ἀριστοτέλης πρὸ Πλάτωνος διαλόγους γεγραμέναι τὸν Ἀλεξαμενόν.

(The papyrus does not settle the vexed question of the soundness of Athenaeus' text of the quotation, for πρὸ II, ἴωνος is an equally legitimate paraphrase whether Aristotle said that Alexamenus' dialogues were the first of the Socratic dialogues or—as the various emendations would have it—that he wrote dialogues before the Socratics.)

DL 3. 48 διαλόγους τοίνυν φασὶ πρῶτον γράψαι Ζήγωνα τὸν Ἐλεάτην· Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν πρώτῳ Περὶ ποιητῶν Ἀλεξαμενὸν Στυρέα ἢ Τήιον, ὡς καὶ Φαβωρίνος ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασι (*FHG* iii 579). δοκεῖ δέ μοι Πλάτων ἀκριβῶς τὸ εἶδος καὶ τὰ πρωτεῖα δικαίως ἂν ὥσπερ τοῦ κάλλους οὕτω καὶ τῆς εὐρέσεως ἀποφέρεισθαι.

The only other mention of Alexamenus extant in ancient literature, the present passage excluded, is at Eustathius, in *Il.* 21. 142 (cited for the accentuation), Ἀλεξαμενός, Τίμος ἀνὴρ, εὐρετής φασὶ τοῦ μιμητικῶς γράφειν. This is manifestly dependent on Athenaeus.

It is remarkable that the papyrus specifies *dramatic* dialogues. I have elsewhere (*BICS* 19 (1972) 19-22) given reasons for thinking that 'dramatic' is not an arbitrary qualification but is tantamount to 'mimetic', and that what our author is concerned to repudiate is Aristotle's assertion that Alexamenus' *logoi* are to be accounted *mimeseis*. Briefly, I take his position to be: Plato got the dramatic element of his dialogues not from Alexamenus but from Sophron.

10 Τηρίου: Τήιον Aristotle *ap.* Athen. loc. cit.: Τήιος Athen. *ibid.*: Στυρέα ἢ Τήιον DL loc. cit.: Τήιος Eustath. loc. cit. The chances are that of Τήιος and Τήιος, one is the corrupt version of the other.

I find nothing to determine the choice other than the weight of authority in favour of Τήιος. The *De Poetis* quotation utilized by Athenaeus, and DL's source, each had 'Tean', for the mutual agreement of these authors is enough to protect either of them from suspicion of subsequent corruption. More generally, the papyrus' other mistakes or corruptions in this section (κατοδραματικον and περι ποιητικῆς) do not encourage faith in it.

11]φ is virtually certain. I do not know how ἀφείκται (or ἐφ-) would relate to what precedes. The only alternative is ἐφεικταί or compound, which does not look attractive.

12 Possibly τις ἄλλο(ς).

Fr. 2 Col. i 'Protagoras . . . refuted in him. His own doctrines are represented (or he represents his own doctrines) through four characters, Socrates, Timaeus, the Athenian Stranger, and the Eleatic Stranger; and the Eleatic and Athenian Strangers are Parmenides and Plato, but in making the dialogues out-and-out dramatic(?) . . .'

2-9 Cf. DL 3. 52, τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν δοξαζόμενον πρότασις ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ δόξα ὑπόληψις. ὁ τοίνυν Πλάτων περὶ μὲν ὧν κατέληφεν ἀποφαίνεται, τὰ δὲ ψευδῆ διελέγχει, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδήλων ἐπέχει. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν αὐτῶ δοκούντων ἀποφαίνεται διὰ τεττάρων προσώπων, Ἐλεάτου, Τιμαίου, τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ξένου, τοῦ Ἐλεάτου ξένου· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ ξένοι οὐχ, ὥς τις ἐπέλαβον, Πλάτων καὶ Παρμενίδης, ἀλλὰ πλάσματά ἐστιν ἀνώνυμα· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ Ἐλεάτου καὶ τὰ Τιμαίου λέγων Πλάτων δογματίζει. περὶ δὲ τῶν ψευδῶν ἐλεγχόμενους εἰσάγει οἶον Θρασύμαχον καὶ Καλλικλέα καὶ Πῶλον Γοργίαν τε καὶ Πρωταγόραν, ἔτι δ' Ἰππίαν καὶ Εὐθύδημον καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους.

The immediate points of difference are (1) the order of the treatment of τὰ ψευδῆ and τὰ αὐτῶ δοκούντα, and (2) whether or not Plato and Parmenides are to be recognized in the Strangers.

3 παρ' αὐτῶ: as we would say, 'in Plato'.

9-10 διὰ δραματι[κῆ]ς or διαδραματι[κού]ς? Either restoration will introduce a novelty. δραματική is to the best of my knowledge nowhere used as a substantive, but there are of course numerous analogies, μιμητική among them: διαδραματικός would be a new word, but the formation is unobjectionable (dia-intensive). Palaeographically there is nothing to choose.

If διὰ δραματι[κῆ]ς, line 11 will contain a predicate (e.g. ποικίλους) and continue ἵνα καὶ ἀνειδωλοποιῇ τὸν ἀνώνυμον Ἀθηναῖον κτλ. But it is nearly nonsense to say that Plato made the dialogues ποικίλους—or whatever—'in order to image-make the unnamed Athenian'.

With διαδραματι[κού]ς, 11 ff. could be thought to have read ὡς ἄλλον τινά (or οὐχ ὡς Πλάτωνα) καὶ ἀνειδωλοποιεῖ τὸν ἀνώνυμον Ἀθηναῖον, 'he represents the unnamed Athenian as someone other than himself.' For the construction cf. Philo iv 87. 17 C-W, μόνον ἀναζωγραφούσης καὶ ἀνειδωλοποιούσης τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα, and Σ Aristoph. *Acharn.* 198, ὡς γυναικας εἰδωλοποιεῖ τὰς σπονδάς. Against this is the apparent redundancy of καὶ and the near tautology of the expression. An alternative and in my view preferable restoration would be ἀλλὰ διαδραματικοὺς ποιούμενος τοὺς διαλόγους εἰσάγει εἰκόνα καὶ ἀνειδωλοποιεῖ τὸν ἀνώνυμον Ἀθηναῖον, 'but in making the dialogues out-and-out dramatic he introduces an image (sc. of himself) and conjures up (makes an imaginary character of) the unnamed Athenian.' (For this use of the verb cf. Didymus' note on *Λαμίας ὄρχεις ἀπλύτους*, Aristoph. *Pax* 758, *ap. Σ ad loc.*: εἰδωλοποιεῖ τινὰς ὄρχεις *Λαμίας*: θῆλυ γάρ.)

Dr. Rea points out the possibility of articulating δια as δι' ᾧ, tentatively suggesting a text on the lines of δι' ᾧ δραματικοὺς ποιούμενος τοὺς διαλόγους ἔχει πεπλασμένα καὶ κτλ., 'because of the figments which he has constructed in making the dialogues dramatic, he also . . .'. (I cannot quite rule out ε as a reading before να in 11.)

13 Possibly τὸν Ἀθη[ναῖον].

Col. ii. (b) 4 Πλάτων]νικά?

5-9 e.g. ποικίλλειν δὲ [αὐτῶ δοκεῖ τοῦς] διαλόγους πῆ [μὲν διὰ Ἐλεάτου,] πῆ δὲ διὰ Τιμαίου ἢ δι' Ἀθηναίου τινὸς ξένου [ἢ Ἐλεάτου τινὸς τὰ] αὐτοῦ δ[όγματα ἀποφαινόμενα. (πῆ [μὲν . . .] πῆ δὲ J. R. Rea. I had read π[ι] in 6.) Plato's adoption of a number of different characters as mouthpieces for his own views is in the interests of diversification, ἡ ποικιλία.

10 In view of the *paragraphus*, Πλάτων]νι δέ has some probability.

(a) 6 ἐναν]τία ἀλλήλο[ις]?

9 γ̄ = τριῶν: cf. [δ] 2 i 5. If οὐδὲ τὰ ὑπὸ [Ἐλεάτου καὶ τῶν] γ̄ λοιπῶν λεγ[όμενα], I do not know why λοιπῶν, not ἄλλων, is used.

Fr. 3-5. These fragments have to do with tragedy, specifically, it seems, with the introduction and increase in number of actors. They add nothing to our historical knowledge. Fr. 3 evidently belongs closely before fr. 4, but I cannot exactly fix their physical relationship (see apparatus).

There is no necessity to assume that the discussion has any bearing on the Platonic dialogues, but it is possible to find the connection in a comparison of the stages of development through which tragedy and philosophy respectively passed, such as is made at DL 3. 56: ὡς περ δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν τῇ τραγωδίᾳ πρότερον μὲν μόνος ὁ χορὸς διεδραμάτιζεν, ὕστερον δὲ Θέσπις ἓνα ὑποκριτὴν ἐξεῦρεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαναπαύεσθαι τὸν χορὸν καὶ δεύτερον Αἰσχύλος, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Σοφοκλῆς καὶ συνεπλήρωσεν τὴν τραγωδίαν, οὕτως καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὁ λόγος πρότερον μὲν ἦν μονοειδῆς ὡς ὁ φυσικός, δεύτερον δὲ Σωκράτης προσέθηκε τὸν ἠθικόν, τρίτον δὲ Πλάτων τὸν διαλεκτικὸν καὶ ἐτελεσιούργησε τὴν φιλοσοφίαν. Another possibility, given our author's view of Plato *qua* dramatist, is a comparison of some kind between the number of actors in tragedy and the number of participant characters introduced in dialogue.

Fr. 3 3 Θέσπις ὑποκρι[τὴν εὔρεν τὸν πρῶτον, *v. sim.*, seems secure.

4 τραγ[ω]δ[ί]ας ἔνε[ι]κα? ἔτραγ[ω]δ[ί]ησεν? But there are other possibilities.

Fr. 4 1 δ[ι]ελθ-

2 μ[ε]τ[ὰ] δὲ τοῦτον (unless, as Dr. Rea cautions, τοῦτο): *sc.* Thespis, probably.

3 δεῦτερον ὑποκρι[τὴν], 4 Σο[φ]οκλῆς. The introduction of the second actor is presumably attributed to Aeschylus, as in DL, for it seems clear enough that the papyrus does not credit Aeschylus with the introduction of the third.

4 Σο[φ]οκλῆς δ[ὲ] τρίτον *v. sim.*?

Fr. 5 1 τραγωδία, τραῶν, *al.*

3 τραγ[ω]δ[ί]α? Perhaps I should not venture to proffer ἔτραγ[ω]δ[ί]ησεν φ[ι]λοσοφίαν.

5 Articulation as Ἀπόλλω is practically enforced by the enlarged alpha, which rules out -α πολλῶ and discourages ἄ πολλῶ. If this fragment is part of a comparison of tragedy and philosophy, perhaps Apollo stands as the representative of ἱ φιλοσοφία, as Dionysus (3. 2) of tragedy.

6 προ: or πρω (πρώτος?) or προ (Πρατίνας?).

Fr. 6 2 In view of δραμ[, perhaps πρόσω]πον.

Fr. 7 2 τῆι δρ[αματικῆι? Iota adscript is not written in the other fragments (1. 3, 7, 8; 2 i 3, 4; 19. 3), but should probably be recognized at line 5 of this fragment.

5 Since ἰαίνειν seems out of the question, the articulation is presumably]ηι αι[(or]ηι Αι[).

6 (-)δ[ε]ίπνοις or -δ[ε]ίπνοι. It is conceivable that the *Symposium*, or symposiac literature generally, is under discussion.

Fr. 8 The appearance of this fragment is consistent with its belonging to col. ii of fr. 2, but I cannot place it. The following restorations then suggest themselves:

2 Ἀθη]ναίων (palaeographically better than Τί]μειον).

3 Παρμεν]εῖδη (spelt -νίδης in fr. 2, but cf. the inconsistency of μεμησάμενος and μιμογράφον in fr. 1).

5 περ]ὲ τῶν τεσσ[άρων (προσώπων).

Fr. 9 3 περὶ τῶν π[ροσώπων?

4 οὔ]τω, αὐ]τῶ, *al.*

Fr. 10 4/5 Apparently a *diple obelismene* (to mark a new section?), but it may be an ordinary *paragraphus*.

5 Not υ]π[ο]κριτ[.

Fr. 11 3 Π[λ]άτ[ω]ν.

4 Apparently φιλοσ]οφίαν ἰς (l. εἰς) τὰ πρῶτα.

5 Dialectic again in line 7. DL, in his analogy between tragedy and philosophy (3. 56: see on fr. 3-5 above), says that Plato perfected philosophy by the introduction of dialectic, but I cannot offer any plausible reconstruction of the fragment using that passage as a model.

6 ὦν (κύριος) or ὦν (κυριώτατον or κυριεύει).

9 I do not know whether the subdivisions of the 'practical' and 'theoretical' sciences have any relevance for the fragment.

Fr. 12 4 μει]κτόν, *al.* The enlarged alpha enforces this articulation.

5 Possibly θε]ωρητ[ικ-.

Fr. 15 2 Conceivably μέ[θοδον, cf. 18. 3, 20. 2.

Fr. 16 2 ἐπανορθου[calls to mind the three forms of government distinguished by the commentators as ἐξ ἐπανορθώσεως (διορθ- Albinus), ἐξ ὑποθέσεως, and ἀνυπόθετος (Albinus *didasc.* xxxiv 118 Hermann vi, Anon. *Proleg.* xxvi *sub fin.*, Proclus *in temp.* ii 8. 15-21 Kroll). Cf. ἀνυπόθετος at 19. 4. But the use of the verb rather than the noun is against interpretation on these lines, and the rest of the fragment does not naturally fall in with it.

3 ο]ικονομικ[- or -]ικὸν δ' μικ[τός (or μικ[ρός). Against the latter is the papyrus' regular spelling of $\bar{\iota}$ as $\epsilon\iota$ (the ratio is 7 or 8 to 1).

4 The only possible articulation seems to be to isolate θ as a numeral, but it is strange that it should have no special designation as such, contrast the elaborate $\cdot\gamma\cdot$ at 2 ii(a) 9. ἐν τοῖς η] καὶ θ is then the obvious restoration ('in books 8 and 9'), but neither the *Republic*, nor the *Laws*, nor the *Letters*, is an obviously suitable reference, nor do any *Oeconomica* bring light. In view of the twofold difficulty, κα{ι}θὸ καὶ might be considered.

5 βέ[λτιον (or βέ[λτιστον) or βέ[βαιον probable.

Fr. 17 4 πο]λειτικ[-.

Fr. 18 3-4 Cf. 20. 2, which perhaps makes 4 πρά]ξεως καὶ πα|[θήματος (or πά|[θους) a less likely suggestion than it would be otherwise.

Fr. 19 This fragment is likely to have some relationship with the ἀνυπόθετος ἀρχή discussion of Pl. *Rep.* vi 510 c-11 a and vii 533 b-d, but I cannot get at the sense of it. The relation of ἡ διαλεκτικὴ (μέθοδος) to τὰ μαθήματα is treated by Albinus, *didasc.* vii *ad fin.* (162 Herm. vi), but there is no close affinity with the papyrus. Cf. also Proclus *in temp.* i 283 Kroll, *in Alcib.* i 128 and 246.

1 Perhaps δι[α]λεκ[τικὴ, as the subject of the following participles.

2 ἐξουροῦσα is not credible, ἐξ οὐ ροῦσα scarcely more so. I would emend to ἐξευροῦσα. The trace above the first omicron, transcribed as if it were the tail of a phi, may in fact be a supralinear correction.

3 δοῦσα τῇ μαθημ[ατικῇ.

3-4 No doubt ἀνυ]πόθετο[ς] (or -ο[ν]). 4-5 ὑ|πόθ]εσις is less secure.

Fr. 20 1 ἀνυπο]θέτ[ους] τὰς ἀ[ρχάς] (cf. 19. 4-5) is perhaps a rather far-fetched suggestion.

2 'Methods' in the vicinity of -ξεως also at 18. 3. The fragments are unlikely to belong close to each other, for the writing there is smaller.

Fr. 21 2-3 θεω]ρητικόν?

Fr. 23 i 2 Probably λημ]ψομε[ν-.

Fr. 25 2 A heading?

II. EXTANT CLASSICAL TEXTS

3220. HESIOD, *Erga* AND *Aspis*

Second century

Π_{39} . On these fragments see the introduction to 2495. Under that number were published others, apparently in the same hand, from at least two lost works of the Hesiodic corpus. The fragments of *Erga* and *Aspis* published here might have belonged to two different rolls, but it is equally possible that both poems were contained in one. In *Erga* the column-height was 38–9 verses, about 22 cm. The *Aspis* fragments are at least compatible with this format; a column may perhaps have ended at v. 194.

ERGA

15	]ιλει[
	]έριντ[
	]μεν[	<i>interlinear</i>
	
	
		]κγ[
		]ορεχο[
		]ιωσονο[
		]ονιω[
260	]αποτ[
	]ρανοξ[
	]νεπ[
	
	
308	]εργω[
309	]ιτεργα[
311?].[
	

Erga 17 μὲν had perhaps been accidentally omitted 309 Π agrees with other sources in having τ' before ἐργ- 311 The trace does not suit the letters of 310 (omitted in four other papyri and CD): probably]ε[

			Top of column
			γ ω
			]καιμεταδοιη[
			]τα . γκαταθυμον[
			]δειηφιπιθησας,[
	360		]χνωσενφιλονη[
			]κρωικαταθειο[
			]μεγακαιτο□γεν[
			]αιθοπαλιμ[
			]ανερα[. .]δ[
	365		]ντοθυρηι[
			. . .
	381		]αιεν[
			]γωερ[
			]νεπιτ[
			. . .
			]ρονεχ[
			]γερικαν[]ακικ.[
440			]δεεργον[]ναυθιλι[
			]εσσαρακ[]έτησαιζη[
			. . .]νησατ[]υφονοκ[
			]ορ[. . .]νκαυλακ[]ελ[
			]μηκ[. . .]θομηλικα[
445			]θυμ[]ντου.[]ωτεροσαλ[
			]σπε[]εσασθαι[]σποριηη[
			]κο.[]αρανηρημ[. . . .
			]φραζε.[]υτανγερ[
			]ψοθεν[. . .
450			].ροτ[
			. . .

357 μετα was a slip, but δοίη is a variant known from Π₅, Proclus, and the Φ manuscripts except E
 358 not τέρεπεθ' ἐόν as Φ 361 καταθειό as Π₅Π₁₉ codd., Plutarch, etc.; Philoponus and cod.
 M of Stobaeus give the active (cf. Plato, *Crat.* 428 a) 365 Apparently θυρη[φι as in C; contrast
 -ηφι in 359 383 επιτ[ελλ- as codd. and many quotations: περιτελλ- Max. Tyr. 441]έτης:
 the accent appears to be in a different ink. Π₄₆ and the medieval tradition give -ετήσ. Cf. Kühner-Blass
 i 545 n. 11; Chandler, *Greek Accentuation*, 2nd edn., para. 703 442 The interlinear sigma is crude
 and heavy. Below it the top of τ[ετρατηρ] 443 κ' αὔλακ': the κ', omitted in most codd., was given by
 Laur. 32. 16, Par. 2707, Vat. gr. 57, but suspected of being a Byzantine conjecture. It is also found in
 Π₄₇ below

	.	.	.	
		]ηιδιον[
		]ηιδιον[
455		]ησιδαν[
		]ηπιος[
	.	.	.	
	.	.	.	
			]ωρμη[
460		]γ[	]διερ[
		]πρωϊμα[	]πε[
		]εαριπολ[	.	.
		]νειονδ[
		]νειοσαλ[
		.[
465		]ε[
		]ε[
		]αρ[
		]χε[
	.	.	.	
	.	.	.	
		]αρδ[
		]ωρηχ[
495		]χανε[
498		]πολλαδ[
		]χρηζω[
500		]ελπιςδ[
		]ημε[
		]εικ[
	.	.	.	
	.	.	.	
536		]καιτ[
		]χλα[
		]τημ[
	.	.	.	

459 *εφορηθηται* codd. 462 *εαρι* as Pollux. One cod. gives *ηρι*, the rest *εϊαρι* 465 sscr. perhaps *κα*[
 496–7 omitted, as in Ω , schol. vet., Et. Gen., and Tzetzes. Plutarch and Proclus knew the lines, but not necessarily in just this place; Schoemann suggested that they belonged after 492
 538 If *c]τημ[ονι* was written, the margin was not straight

. . .
 575]εναμ[
].τοσσ.[
]αισταμε[
]αρτεργιοτ[
]ριπροφερειμ[
 580]ητεφανεισαπ[
]πολλ[

]τ'αν[
]οσλ.[
 . . .]υγω[
 585]οτατ[]ιγες[
]αιδεγ[]ναικε[
]κεφαλ[]ηνκα[
]χρωσ[]υποκ[
]ες[]κιη[
 590 . . .].ηιγαλατ[
 End of column

Top of column

]περκαπ[
 630]εινπ[

. . . .

. . . .
]ταδεπαντ[
 689]υσιναπα.[
 691]ποντουμετ[
]παμαξ[

578 γάρ τ' as codd. (cf. 309) 588 The space available indicates ἀυαλέος δέ] (Hermann) rather than ἀυαλέος δέ τε (codd.), though the omission might be a mere accident 590 False iota adscript 689 ἀπαγ[τα as codd.: παντ[α Π₄₉ below 690 omitted, as in Π₄₉; homoeoteleuton will be responsible 692 ἐπ' ἄμαξαν as Π₄₉, not ἐφ' as part of the medieval tradition

	• . .		
698	] η[
699(?)	] πα[
700?	] τ[
702	] ουμ[
	] τηϛ[
	] δ[
	• . .	705] . . [
			] αγμ[
			] ρο[
			• . .
		• . .	
736		] . αλλαθανα . [
737		] αμωνκαλλι . [
		] η' ἰδωνεσκα[
		] υηρατωινδατ[
740		] . τητιδεχει[
742		] ωνενδα[
		] . ναιθωνι[
	• . .	] μενκρητ . [
745	] πι[	] . ιμ[. .] ατ[
	] μη[	] εστ[.] νκ[
	] μη[	] ξηλακερυ . [
	] μη[	] νεπιρρεκτ[

End of column

699 f. Prima facie, πα[is 699 *παρθενικὴν* . . ., τ[is 700 *τὴν δὲ μάλιστα γαμεῖν* . . ., and 701 *πάντα μάλ' ἀμφὶς ἰδῶν* . . . is missing; or 699 is missing and 700–1 are transposed. But the line one might expect to be absent is 700, which is omitted by two other papyri (*Π₅Π₄₉*) and Stobaeus, ignored by Proclus, and marginal in Vat. gr. 57. It is not impossible that the τ[was a π (= 701), though the horizontal would be abnormally prolonged to the left 705 Perhaps]α[.]δ[, i.e. γήρ]α[τ] δ[ῶκεν. An ancient variant had θῆκεν, see below on *Π₄₉* 736a (= 758) is absent, as in *Π₅*, Proclus, Moschopoulos, Triclinius, and Vat. gr. 904 738 Insertion and trema by a second hand 740 Aristarchus athetized the line. This scribe is very sparing with tremas and elision-marks, so their absence here does not necessarily imply the articulation *κακότητι δὲ*. Codd. are divided between this and *κακότητ' ἰδὲ*; the schol. vet. mentions also readings *κακότητ' ἰδε* and *κακότητ' ἔπι*. The omission of 741, if it is anything but an accident, would imply ἰδε 742 ἐν as quotations and most codd.: ἐν Vat. gr. 57 and 904 746 ἀνεπίξ]εστ[ο]ν as codd., quotations, Proclus, schol. vet.: ἐνιοὶ δὲ ἀνεπίρρεκτον γράφουσι schol. (cf. 748) 747 κρώ]ξη as *Π₅Π₄₉* C, etc. Other sources give κρώξη

	<i>Top of column</i>	
	].μηδελ[
750	]κινητ[
	. . .	
		. . .
	775	]καρποναμ[
		]μεγαμειω[
		]ότητοςαραχν[
		]αμᾶται [
		]οιτοτεεργον[
	780	]ην[...]σθ.[
		]ψας.[
		. . .
		. . .
		]σμεν[
800		]ονακο[
	. . .	]ουτωια.[
	]μπ[	]ιτεκαι[
	]πε[	]φ[
	]κο.[	. . .
805	. . .	. . .
		]ωη[
	]νυλοτομοι[	]ιαδ[
	]τεξυλαπολλατ[	]ελοντ[
	]ιδαρχ[...]θαινη[	]ξτ]ας[
810	]ηεπιδ[	]ρ· [
	]πα[	]ρωπ[
	]εφ[	]ενε[

807 βάλλει]ν as Π₅ codd., not βαλλέμε]ν (Rzach) and corrected with an ε (for αι). The correction was made with a blunter pen

809 αρετας was written instead of ἀραιάς,

Uncertain location (314-15?)

. . .
]ωιερ.[
]...ϛ[
 . . .

Fragment of uncertain location, 2: a flat dot at letter-top height is closely followed by the upper left part of a round letter; then a pointed top before ν . Compatible with $\kappa\tau\epsilon\alpha\nu[\omega\nu]$ (315), but if so, Π had $\tau\omega\iota$ for $\tau\acute{o}$ in 314. This has figured in several conjectures. I cannot find any alternative location for the scrap in *Erga* or *Aspis*. (*Erga* 382-3 and 443-4 are excluded by the presence of other fragments.)

ASPIS

. . .
]ετοδ[
] ο[.]ραμι[
 85] ηδικη[
] ζωεδαγα[
] η'αλοχω[
] γεινομ[
]σο[.]τεπ[
 90] .[
 . . .

. . .
]αχις[
]γρετος[
]πετειλ[
 95]φου[
]εσιθα[
 . . .

. . .
]τεσυναϊγδ[
 190]εσινηδελατ[
]αρεοςβλοσυ[
]ρεοι ενδεκ[
 . . .

Asp. 85 η not $\eta\iota$ is correct 87 The ι is a later addition 92 -στον- or -σπεν-]αχις[ατ' is a new reading; codd. have -ίζετ' 94 ε]πετειλ[ατ' (as Vat. gr. 1825, s. xiv) or ε]πετειλ[εν (as Tricl.). Most codd. have ε]πετέλλετ' (cf. *Od.* 11. 622) or ε]πέτελλεν (cf. [Hes.] fr. 190. 12) 95 φου[ι-κόνετα as most codd.: *κυγαλόεντα* (cf. *Il.* 5. 226) F 189 The space indicates *καί*] (*bJ*, etc.) not *οί*] (B) *συναϊγδην* as *BJ*, *Et. Gen./Magn.*: *συναίκτην* *b* schol.

(. . .?)
 195]αραδεδε[
]ιπολεμονκατα[
]αγλειητριτογε[
]μαχηνε[.]ελο[
].[.].[.]εξ[.]ηντετρ[
 200]τοφυλο[
]οσ'ενδαρ[
]ητουκυ[

195 δέ as BJ: δή *m* (om. RLS) 197 ἀγλείη as bJ: ολοή B, which led Peppmüller to conjecture ὀλοή ἦν 199 Apparently χ[ρυσ]ε[ι]ην as Vat. gr. 1825 and *m*: χρυρέην the rest. Preceding it, χε[ι]ρ[ι] (BFS) rather than χερ[ς] [ι] (bJ) 202 διοσκαιλ]ητουκυ[ιος as BS: λητοῦς καὶ διὸς υἱός bJ

3221. HESIOD, *Erga*, 93?–108

93/Dec. 18/H3

3.0 × 8.4 cm.

Second/third century

Π₄₁. Written on the back of a list containing words beginning χα, χε, χη, etc. Most of these words are covered up by a strip of papyrus stuck over them for strengthening. On ↓ the Hesiod text is copied in an ugly informal upright rounded capital, leaning slightly backwards, to be assigned to the latter part of the second or the early third century.

↓
].[.].[.]
]ωμάφε[.
 95]τοκηδεα[.
]τοιcidoμοι[
]νουδεθυρα[
]ωμαπιθο[
]ρεταο[
 100]ουσαλαλ[
]ηδεθαλ[
]αιδ'επ.γ[
]οισιφερ[.
]ητιετα[
 105]ξελαας[
]νεκκο[
]ρεσιβα[
]ανθρ[

The traces of the first line are not sufficient to show whether it was 93 (unknown to Origen, Proclus, and part of the medieval tradition) or 92. There may have been an elision-mark as well as the smooth breathing. Π disagrees with Seleucus, who read $\mu\chi\omicron\iota\iota$ for $\delta\acute{o}\mu\omicron\iota\iota$. 99 is present, as in all manuscripts; it is omitted in one quotation, while two others end with 98. Π supports quotations and most manuscripts against Φ 's $\eta\delta'$ $\epsilon\pi\iota$. 102 Π was athetized, according to the scholia. 105 $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\alpha\sigma[\theta\alpha\iota]$ by error for $\epsilon\zeta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$.

3222. HESIOD, *Erga*, 144–56

30 4B.41/D(2–3)a

2.6 × 8.2 cm.

Third century

Π_{42} . A competent but ugly example of the mixed style, with a slight lean to the left, probably to be assigned to the third century.

. . . .

145]υδεν[
]ιμον·δ[
]ι· ουδέτ[
]γκρα[.]εροφ[
]ιρε[.]'απ[
]βαρ[.]ιμ[
 150]αλκειοιδέτ[
]υκέσκει[
]τερησιδα[.
 μ[]
]τε[.]αιδ[
]αγλουςπε[
 155]αοσηλι[
]γαιακαλ[

146 Above $\epsilon\omicron$, the right-hand end of a stroke resembling a grave accent (not expected here) followed by a small semicircle open to the lower right and a dot. 152 \cdot : a spot above the line, possibly the right-hand end of an acute accent, which would have been on the alpha. As this is the wrong accent for $\delta\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, it might conceivably point to a variant $\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$. 153 Perhaps $\kappa\rho\alpha$] $\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$ was written for $\kappa\rho\upsilon\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon$ (P. Berol. 21107 and codd.); the trace after ϵ can be taken as ρ , but there hardly seems room for $\omicron\upsilon$. I cannot explain the suprascript, which is in the same hand as the text. It might be read as ρ . 156 Π agrees with P. Berol. and all codd. in unaugmented $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\upsilon\psi\epsilon\nu$.

3223. HESIOD, *Erga*, 172–215, 228–45

21 3B.29/C(11–12)a

13.0 × 22.5 cm.

Second century

Π_{43} . Upright, small, quickly made hand of the type in which hypomnemata are written (cf. VI 853, XXXI 2536, and PSI XII 1285). Probably a working copy, to be assigned to the early second century. Written on the back of a register containing

18 lines mentioning names, arouras, and small sums of money, in a regularly clerkly hand of the later first century.

Part of two columns; 2.5 cm. of the upper margin remains. The space between columns is about 4 cm., the column itself being about 9 cm. in width. The height of the first column was 56 verses, 25 cm., if no verses were missing, but in col. ii the writing is slightly bigger. The earlier part of *Erga* must have occupied the three preceding columns, but the number of verses present in this text cannot be calculated exactly.

Top of column

172	]τοις[]δεα[.]ρπον		ε[.]ήν[
	]θαλλονταφ[]ζειδωροσαρου[.]α[]		αργαλ[
	]τ'ωφελλου[]πεμπτοιςμετειναι[]	230	ουδέπ[
175	]ληπροσθεθ[]νηπειταγενεσθαι		ουδάτ[
	]ο.εστιαιδ[]ονουδέποτ'ημαρ		τοιει.[
	]αματουκα[]ζυοουδετινυκτωρ		άκρη[
	]οιχαλεπαδε[]ειδιωκουσιμεριμνας		.[.]ροπ[
	]καιτοιςμεμεξ[]εταιεσθλακακο[ι]σι	235	τικτου[
180	]εικαιτουτογενοςμεροπωνανθρωπων[]		θαλλο[
	]ομενοιπολιοκρόταφοιτελεθωσιγ		νεισο[
	]ρπαιδεσσινομοιοουδετιπαιδ. .		δ' όιυβρ[
	] .εξε[]ροδοχωκαιεταιροςεταιρω		τοιεδ[
	]νη[[ε]]τοσφιλοσεσεταιωστοπα[.]οσπερ	240	πολλάκ[
185	]ασκοντασατε[ι]μηγουσιτοκηας[]		όστιςα[
	]αιδαρατουςχαλεποιςβαζοντε[.]επεσσι		τοιειγ[
	] .δεθεωνοπινειδοτεσουδεμ. .οιδε		καιλε[
	]ιτοκευσι[]αποθρεπτηριαδοιεν		ουδεγ[
	]ετεροσδετερουπολινεξαλαπαξει	245	ζηνο[
190	] .ρκουχα[.]εσεταιιουδεδικα[.]υ	[
	]μαλλονδεκακωνρεκτηηρακαιυβριν		
	] .σουσιδικηδενχερσικαιαιδ[.]ε		
	]λαιψειδοκακοστοναρειοναφωτα		
	]κολιο[.]ενεπωνεπιδ'ορκονομειται		
195	]γθρωποισινοϊζυροισιναπασι		
	]οσκακοχαρτ[.]σομαρτησειστυγε[.]ωπησ		
	]προσολυμ[] .οχθονοσευ[.]οδειη[.]		
	]φαρε[]σικαλ[]ενωχροακαλ[.]γ		

	]γμεταφυλον[	]ρολιποντ[ανθρωπους	
200	]γμεεις ταδ[	]εταιαλγααλγγρα <small>ουκ</small>	
	]νθρωπ[	]δεσεταιιαλη	
	]ονβας[	]ονεουσι και αυτοις	νοεουσι
	]προε[	]οικιλοδειρον	
	]ενεφ[	]χ[.]σσιμεμαρπως	
205	]γ[	]ηαμφ[ονυ[.]σσι]μυθονει[.]ε]ολλοναρε[.]ν·]ε[
		]ζω	
210		]εριζειν	
		]χει	
		]νις	
].	
		]θλος	
215		]αυτης	

. . .

173 *Π* does not give the additional lines after 173 attested by *Π*₈ and *Π*₃₈ and in part by the scholia 174 *Π* agrees with *Π*₈ against ὠφειλον given by many of the manuscripts and the scholia 177 κ]αματοιο was at first written, as in *Φ*, but it was corrected before the next words were added, ιο being made into υκ 179 *Π* agrees with *Π*₈ and all manuscripts in the spelling μεμειξεται not μεμειζεται 183 -δοχω, banalization of the Ionic -δόκωι. Similarly cod. Riccard. 71 The scribe began to write ετερος, but corrected himself before completing the second ε 186 αρατους: Marcus Aurelius 11. 32 gives ἀρετήν. *Π* agrees with the direct tradition βάζοντες ἔπεσσι *CDΦ*, Marcus: βάζοντες ἐπέε(ς)ι or βάζοντ' ἐπέεσσι the majority of the other manuscripts 187 ο]υδε is superior to the οὔτε of the medieval tradition, and it has been printed by editors since Aldus For οὐδέ μὲν Brunck conjectured οὐδέ κεν. The critical letter in *Π* might have been κ, but it looks more like μ At the end, the codd. have οἷ γε, but Et. Gen. (cod. A) s.v. γηράντεσιν gives οἶδες, which points to the reading given by *Π* 188 Apparently not τοκευσι[ν] 190 ουδε: so *CDΦ*; a number of manuscripts have οὔτε 198 There is not room for φαρε[ε]σσι given by manuscripts and testimonia. φάρεσσι had been restored from the close imitation in Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 1110. 2. The inscription has καλυβαμένα; *Π* agrees with the other sources 202 The marginal variant, νοέουσι for φρονέουσι, was known from ps.-Ammonius π. ὁμοίων καὶ διαφόρων λέξεων and related works, and P. Berol. 21107 has it in the text 203 προε[ειπε] by mistake for προσέειπε 204 Apparently ενεφ[εεσσι for εννεφεεσσι 207 *Π* agreed with most manuscripts in ἀρείων (ἀμείνων Ambr. G 32 sup.) 210-11, athetized by Aristarchus, are present, as in the three other papyri which cover the passage (*Π*₅*Π*₈*Π*₃₈) 215 *Π*₈ has αυτου, which is impossible 237 Or perhaps νείς[. Both spellings are found among medieval manuscripts (the second being commended by Moschopulus), besides νίς-, νίςσ-, νήσ- 241 *Π* agrees with the manuscripts against ὅς κεν (Aeschines) 243 Manuscripts, Aeschines, and other quotations agree on λιμόν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμόν (λ)ε[ιμον]ομου[*Π*₅). *Π* probably had και λε[ιμον και λοιμον, or unmetrically και λε[ιμον ομου και λοιμον 244-5, omitted by Aeschines and either omitted or condemned by Plutarch in his commentary (Proclus ad loc.), are present here, as also in *Π*₅*Π*₉*Π*₅₂

3224. HESIOD, *Erga*, 179-95

8 1B.199/F(2)a

Second century

Π_{44} . Upright, informal capitals, not unlike the mixed style, and probably to be assigned to the later second century. ν has a long tail curving to the left.

. . .

180]εμπ[.]κα[
]υδ.λεσεικα[
]— ευ[.]γγειν...[
] > ✱ ουδεπατηρπα[
] ουδεξειν[
] > ✱ ουδεκα[
 185] ✱ — α[.]α[. . . .
] × μ[. . .]δ[
 ]ε[
]ν[.]εζσιτ[
]οδικαι·ετε[
 190]δετιζευορκου[
]γαθου,μαλ[
]ατιμησου[
]ται·βλαψε[
]ει'σκολιο[
 195]ςδα..[
 . . .

The interest of these scraps lies almost entirely in the critical signs visible in the margin. They include the obelos, the dipole, the asteriskos, of which the cross has the form of a χ , and perhaps a bare χ in 186, but it may have been a dipole or another asteriskos. It is known that Aristophanes and Aristarchus used critical signs at least in the *Theogony*; and for the *Works and Days* critical signs in an ancient edition are implied by schol. 276 b τὸ σημείον ὅτι οὐδέποτε Ὀμηρος νόμον εἶπε (an Aristarchean observation) and 649 a σημειοῦται ὁ στίχος οὗτος κτλ. The scholia on 181-6, however, contain nothing corresponding to the signs in the papyrus. Obeli also occur in certain papyri of the *Catalogue of Women* (2075 fr. 1 = fr. 25. 26-33 M.-W.; 2478 fr. 1 ii = fr. 129. 47-50 M.-W.).

181 The obelos implies athetesis, unless it was preceded by an asteriskos as in 185. $\gammaειν-$ as Π_8 DψΦ: $\gammaιν-$ Ω (but ϵ superscr. C m¹). The manuscripts of Aristides, who quotes the line, are divided 182-5. The asteriskos, according to the *Anecdota Romana*, p. 3 Osann, was used by Aristarchus in his edition of Homer ὡς καλῶς εἰρημένων τῶν ἐπῶν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ ἔνθα ἐστὶν ἀστερίσκος μόνος. It is the correlative of the ἀστερίσκος μετὰ ὀβελοῦ, which signifies ὡς ὄντα μὲν τὰ ἔπη τοῦ ποιητοῦ, μὴ καλῶς δὲ κείμενα ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ ἀλλ' ἐν ἄλλῳ. (Cf. sch. Dion. Thr. p. 737. 15; sch. *Il.* 6. 490-3.) In other words, the signs were used where a line or passage occurred more than once and was judged to be more appropriate in one context than in another. ✱— is found in this sense in P. Tebt. 4 (second century B.C.) at *Il.* 2. 141 and 164, and in PSI 8 (first century A.D.) at *Od.* 5. 110; ✱ in P. Lit. Lond. 27 (first century A.D.) at *Il.* 23. 657, in III 445 (second/third century A.D.) at *Il.* 6. 490-2, and also in codd. Vat. gr. 30

(s. xiv) and Par. 1805 (s. xv) at *Il.* 5. 891. The Hesiodic lines, however, are not known to have occurred anywhere else. I presume that a dipole preceding an asteriskos has its usual function of calling attention to something in the line worthy of remark, though I have not found other instances of the conjunction 185-6 are closer together than normal 186 The χ , a general-purpose symbol, is one of the commonest critical signs in papyri (cf. E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri*, pp. 116 f.), though it seems not to be found in Homer papyri, and it is absent from the list in the *Anecdota Romana*. The papyrus is not well enough preserved here to rule out the possibility that this was a dipole or another asteriskos

3225. HESIOD, *Erga*, 265-79

21 3B.27/C(1-2)c

Second century

*Π*₄₅. Written in well-formed, medium-sized rounded formal capitals, bilinear, some letters having serifs. Probably to be assigned to the middle of the second century. The back is blank.

265]ατ[
]ουλη[
]δωνδιοσοφθαλμ[
]ἀδ'αικεθεληεπ[.]ε[. . .
]τηνδε[.]ικην[]σεε[
270]γωμητ'αυτοσεν[]σιδ[.
]τ'εμοσιν[.]επε[]δίκαι[
]ξιμείζωγεδικ[]ωτερο[
]υπωόλπατε[.]έ[]ητιόε[
]συδεταυταμ[.]τ[.]φ[. .
275]κησεπακουεβ[.
]γαρανθρωποις[.]ν[
]ιμενκα[.]θηρσικαι[
]ναλληλ[
]. . .σιδ[
 . . .

267-73 were condemned by Plutarch, but there is no evidence that they were ever omitted by a manuscript 268 εθελη as 1090 (*Π*₁₀), against (ε)θέλης' of the codd. 270 μῆτ': the accent is anomalous. A minute trace below the circumflex may represent an acute 271 The space between the two fragments calculated from the other lines suggests επει[κακοναρα] (*ἀρα* instead of *ἄνδρα*) as in *Π*₁₀ 273 After]ε prima facie ε, sc. εει written for metrical ει as in Archilochus, 2310 fr. 1 i 14, 2313 fr. 8(a) 14, (b) 3, 2319 fr. 4. 13; Anacreon, 2321 fr. 1. 4. But it might be a large serif at the foot of ι running into the corner of ν. Above, a dot (perhaps casual) followed by what may either be a circumflex (which would be anomalous with the spelling τελεειν; cf. δοκέει in Anacreon loc. cit.) or a suprascript correction (ε[?] μ]ητιόε[ντα as *Π*₁₀, Proclus, CΦ, and some of the ψ manuscripts, against *τερπικέρανον* (D, Tzetzes, *al.*) 278 εσθειν (*Π*₁₀ to judge by the space, most quotations, and all codd.), not εσθεμ[εν] (Clement) 279 ἀνθρώποισι δ['] ἔδωκε as codd. and most quotations, not ἀνθρώποις δὲ δέδωκε as Porphyry on *Od.* 9. 106 ff.

3226. HESIOD, *Erga*, 311-16, 345-53, 414-19, 421-2, 432-6, 441-3

27 3B.39/E(1)a and 41/G(4-6)b

Fr. 2 3.0 × 6.3 cm.

Second/third century

Π_{46} . Five fragments in fair-sized upright flowing capitals; many verticals have a right-pointing tail at their foot. Only roughly bilinear, β above, ρ below line, deep μ . Same general type but not same hand as VIII 1090 (*Erga*), XVII 2090 (*Theogony*), and PSI 847 (New Comedy). Probably falls within the second century but could be second/third. There were 33 or 50 lines to the column. The back is blank.

Fr. 1		Fr. 3	
<i>Top of column</i>			
		][π[.]ορθοιοτελη[	421
		]νμεμνημενο.[	422
		<i>Top of column</i>	
→ 311	]εργο[^ν][ε][δ[	]μένοσοξέος.[
	]ειδεκε[	415]'μουμετ'όπ.[
	]πλουτε[	δε	
	]δαιμον[	]'.[ ]·εταδρέπετα[
315	]εικεν[^α][ε][	]δηγαρτότεεριρι[
	...]εργον[	]ηριτρεφε[
.	.	]'.τενυ[
.	.	.	.
		Fr. 4	
		.	.
		]ηγάμε[
		]ειπολυλω[
345	γειτο[	κε ι	
	πήμα[	]υποβόνυσιβ[
	εμμο[	435]κτώτατοιϊστ[
	ουδαν[	]ν·βόεδ'ε[
	ευμειν[	.	.
350	αυτωιτ[	Fr. 5	
	ωσα'ν'χρ[	.	.
	μηκακ[]·[
	τ[.]νφιλ[	441]νταετήσα[
.	.	]ετρατρυφον[
.	.]...[...][...][
.	.	.	.

314-16 As codd. and four other papyri; Π_{19} had eight unidentifiable verses here before correction: the same slip in Vat. gr. 38 (corr. m²) 316 $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$] as Π_6 , codd., Et. Gen., not $\epsilon\varsigma$] 353-5 were condemned by Plutarch 421-2 are added in a different hand. They were presumably omitted lower down as a result of homoearchon, 420 and 422 both beginning with $\tau\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (but 420 $\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ Athous Ivion 209 a.c. and Tricl., $\pi\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ Par. 2774) 415 Or perhaps $\delta\pi$ or $\theta\pi$ 416 $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\delta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ was apparently written instead of $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\delta\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$. Above the first alpha is a small delta, followed at a much lower level by what looks like an epsilon perched on the

delta 417 $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ Π_{38} , codd. 434 The codd. have $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ $\beta\omicron\upsilon\kappa\iota$ preceded by κ' , γ' , δ' , or directly by $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$. In Π , $\upsilon\pi\omicron$ is preceded by a trace of a vertical, so presumably $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\eta$. The correction introduces two separate changes, suggesting collation with a different copy rather than simple rectification of a slip 435 $\alpha\eta\kappa\iota\omega\tau\alpha\iota$ as codd., Proclus, Hesychius. Et. Magn. attests a variant $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\rho\omega\tau\alpha\iota$ 436 $\gamma\upsilon\eta\eta$] ν as Ω b D ψ and grammatical citations, against $\gamma\upsilon\eta\epsilon$ of Tzetzes and Φ 441 Above the second tau, traces of a suprascript 443 The first trace is the top of a round letter

3227. HESIOD, *Erga*, 415, 421-35, 440-53

16 2B.47/D(d)

Fr. 1 9 × 10.5 cm.

Second/third century

Π_{47} . Two fragments of a roll written in a large-sized roughly made 'Biblical majuscule', reminiscent of but not the same as XXVIII 2486. Not so regular as XVII 2075 or XXII 2334. Bilinear, ν and ρ scarcely reaching below the line. There is a just perceptible contrast in thickness of stroke in some horizontals. Should probably be assigned to late second or early third century. On the back is part of two columns of a money account of the third century (\downarrow).

The column had 34 lines. Its height was about 17 cm., its width much the same. 2.5 cm. of the upper margin is preserved, and 4 cm. of the lower; the height of the roll must have been about 25 cm.

Fr. 1

Top of column

→ 415]οπωριονομβρησαντος·
 421]θδιότελγει
]ημενοςωριονε[.]γον·
]ινυπερονδετριπηχυ·
]ρυνυτοιαρμενονουτω·
 425]φυρανκεταμοιο·
]εκαδωρωαμαξη·
]ινδεγυνηοτανευρησ
]οσηκαταρουραν []
]χυρωτατοςεστι []
 430]ματιπηξας
]ηρ[^αε]ταιϊστοβοηϊ
]ησαμενοςκαταοικον []
]πολυλωιονουτω []
],βουσιβαλοιο[]
 435].[

Fr. 2

• • •
 440]..ν·[
]ζηοσεποιτο[^ε
]φονοκτάβλ.[
]κ'αυλακελα[
]ήλικας·αλλεπιε[
 445]ροσαλλοσαμει[
]πορίην[...α[
]ικασεπτο[
]ινηεσακου[
]κλαγγυιης·[
 450]ματοςωρ[
]δάκ'α.[
]ασεν[
]αιαμα[

End of column

415 μετ]οπωριον by mistake for -ινον. Π agrees with Π₃₈, codd., Et. Sym. in the accusative; Et. Gen. has the genitive. The marks above and below the last letter of the line may represent a bracket (περιγραφή). Dr. Rea suggests that 415 was repeated by mistake after 420 because of the similar beginnings of 414 and 420 (see the note on the passage in 3226 above) 421 πτορ]θοιο: the accent is

anomalous, but perhaps serves to distinguish the sense 'sprouting' from the usual sense 'a shoot'. Cf. ps.-Ammonius p. 12. 3 Nickau on ἄμητος and ἀμητός 422 ὠριον ἔργον as Π₃₈, sch. vet., Proclus' lemma, ΩDψ, Tzetzes, sch. Eur. Andr. 1164: ὠρία ἔργα Φ, editors 423 τρίπηχυν as D and Laur. 32. 16: -υν the rest. ὕπερον is elsewhere neuter 424 οὔτω as most codd.; a few give οὔτως 425 κε τάμοιο as Π₃₈ and most codd., against τετάμοιο EN 429 ὄχυνώτατος most codd.: -τερος Vat. gr. 44 and 121, Ambr. C 222 inf. 431 The correction is mistaken 441 I cannot account for the superscript 443 κ': see above (p. 41) on Π₃₉ 448 φωνην as most codd.: -ῆς Vat. gr. 121, sch. Arat. 1012 cod. A ἐσακ- Ωb, Vat. gr. 1825: ἐπακ- the rest with sch. Arat. 449 κεληγυίης codd., sch. Arat. The form κέκλαγγα is used by Stesichorus and Attic writers 452 βό]αc as most codd.: βοῦc Vat. gr. 2383, Cantab. Trin. O. 9. 27

3228. HESIOD, *Erga*, 511-29

12 1B.137/L(a)

4.7 × 14.6 cm.

Second century

Π₄₈. Informally made, medium-sized upright round capitals, fairly tall. Probably early second century rather than first. The back is blank.

511]μπ[. .].[
]θηρεcδεφρι[[^{ςc}ζ]]ου[
]τωνκα[[^{ιλ}ιλ]]άχνηιδ[
]ψυχροcεωνδιάη[
 515]καίτεδιαρεινου[
]καίτεδιαγα^ιγησιτ^g[
]ουνκεπηῆτά .[
 ι]σανεμουβορεω[
].[].
]καῖδιαπαρθεν[
 520 .]τεδομωνεντ[
]όυπωεργ'ειδνυα[
]ἔυτελοεσσαμε[
]χρικαμενημ[
].ματιχει .[
 525 .]γταπυρω[
]οιηε[
]ικυα[
]φατα .[
]τεδῆ[
].[interlinear
 . . .

513 The suprascript is in a different hand. The corrector supposed a mistake to have been made because he misread *καιλ* as *καμ* 516 Corrected by the first hand 518 *βορεω* confirms Rzach's correction of codd. *βορέου* 519 Above *και* perhaps *κ[.]*. 521 *εργ'ειδυια* as codd. Some editors call for *ἔργα ἰδυῖα* 523 Apparently *μ[υχίη]* as Proclus and some *Φ* manuscripts, not *νυχίη* 526 It cannot be determined from the space whether *οἱ* was preceded by *οὐ γάρ* (codd., Et. Gen.) or by *οὐδέ* (Hermann) Above 530, interlinear ink; possibly *λι* relating to *μυλιόωντες* (*μυλλιόωντες* some manuscripts; *μαλκιοόωντες* Crates)

3229. HESIOD, *Erga*, 670-4, 686-716, 743-56

28 4B.61/B(2-4)a and 62/B(1-2)a

Fr. 2 13.5 × 23 cm.

Second century

*Π*₄₉. Four fragments of a generously laid out manuscript. There were 18 verses to the column, which measures 14 cm.; 3.8 cm. of the upper margin is preserved, and 5.5 of the lower. The large formal round calligraphic letters (each 5-6 mm. high) are as large in size as in any papyrus manuscript. The type is that of the Hawara Homer, not of XVII 2075 (note the deep *μ*); but the scribe's work lacks the delicacy of the Hawara manuscript. Probably to be assigned to the middle or later second century. The back is blank except for a column of figures.

Fr. 1

. . .

670].[

]θση[

]ν·φφ[

]ιςτ[

]τε[

. . .

Fr. 2

Top of column

]ιλοις[
]αυ[]υμασι[
]αδεπαυτ[]φρεσιν[
 689]ηυσινπαντ[]κοιληι[
 691]ποντουμε[]μασιπη[
]κ'επαμαξα[]ρβιοναχ[
]αισκαιφορτ[.]μαυρωθα[
]σεσθαικαιροσδεπιπασι[
 695]να[ι]κατ'εονποτι[.]κωνα[
]οντωνετεωνμ[.]πολ[
]σμαλαπολλαγαμ[.]το[
]ετορ'ηβωοιμ'εμπ[.]εγ[
 699]νδεγαμεινωσκ[.]κ[
 701]αμφικιδωνμηγε[
]τιγ.γαικοςανηρλ[
]τηδ'αυτεκακησφ[
]ησ'ανδ[.]κ[
 705].[[ο]]διοκαιω[

End of column

Fr. 3

Top of column

]υλαγμ[
]ταιρον[
]ονε[
]εγ'α[
 710]αε:[
]σεγ'α[
]αρα[
]ετ'α[
]ωει[
 715]εε[
]κ[

Fr. 4

. . . .

]αμνει[
]ντιθέμ[
 745]γαρεπαυ[
]ν[.]επ[
].ηκρωξ[
]όδωναν[
]λοεσθαιεπε[
 750]ητοιικαθι[
]καταιονοτα[
]καμηγνοι.[
]ειωιλ[.]ντρ[
]ξη.αρεπιχ[
 755]νεπαι[
]λαθερο[

689 παντ[α: ἄπαντα codd., Π₃₉ 690 omitted; see on Π₃₉ above (p. 43) 692 ἐπ' ἄμαξαν: see on Π₃₉ 693 καὶ is the better-attested reading (sch. lemma, CDΦ, al.); some manuscripts give τὰ δὲ θὰ[: or perhaps θι[, θη[; anyway not θε[ιη 695 ποτι as Π₅, quotations, sch. lemma, and some ψ manuscripts: ἐπὶ CDΦ, al. 696 τριηκ[οντων as Π₅, quotations and most codd. Tzetzes 'corrected' to -κοντα, which influenced some copyists 698 ἡβώοι as Π₅, quotations (except Pollux 1. 58 v.l. and Et. Sym. s.v. τέτορε), and most manuscripts, against ἡβώη The first π of πεμπ[τωι is corrected from μ; the correction consists simply of a horizontal line resting on the apexes 699 ὡς κ' as Π₅, Stobaeus, codd. (except for one or two giving ὤστ'), against ἵνα (ps.-Aristotle *Oecon.* and Aristides) 700 is omitted, as in some other sources. See on Π₃₉ 704 δειπνολοχ]ης as Gregory of Nazianzus, Π₅, Proclus, sch. lemma, codd., Et. Gen./Magn., Eustathius: -χου Stobaeus, ps.-Zonaras 705 Only Stobaeus has δαλοῖο. Other sources all give δαλοῦ, whether followed by καὶ ἐν ὠμῶ γήραι θῆκεν (Plut. *Mor.* 527 a, Stob., Π₅ (καίενω[.....]κεν)), καὶ ὠμῶ γήραι δῶκεν (Plut. *Mor.* 100 e, Et. Gen., ΩDψ, Tzetzes, Eustathius), or καὶ ὠμῶ γήραι θῆκεν (Φ) 709 c]ε γ' as Π₅, Proclus' lemma, Et. Gen., CDψΦ, Tzetzes: c' ὄ γ' Vat. gr. 57, al.: κεν Et. Gud., N², Moschopulus, Triclinius 711 ce γ' again, here only with D: κεν the other codd. with Proclus' lemma and Etymologica 713 αλλοτ]έ τ' α[λλον as DΦ; the particle is absent in other codd. and Et. Gen. 747 κρωξ[η(ι): see above on Π₃₉

3230. HESIOD, *Erga*, 293-301, 763-4, 78 (or 789), 1-13

13 1B.125/F(c)

6.7 × 23.5 cm.

First century

Π₅₀. A tall strip of papyrus containing on the front excerpts from *Erga* in no obviously accountable order. The hand is a quickly written, upright, business one of medium size, in which letters are often linked to each other, and is probably to be assigned to the first part of the first century A.D. Cf. II 291 (P. Lond. 800), a document of A.D. 25/6, and P. Lond. 276B (Pal. Soc. II 182) of A.D. 15. XIX 2221, a commentary on

Nicander, is of the same type. The back has been used (↓) for a private letter (l. 10], αδελφουεπιστολη [] also to be assigned to the early first century after Christ. A slight space separates each excerpt from the last, except that *Op.* 763-4 are followed without interval by a line from another passage.

		<i>Top of column</i>
→	?	] . οξ [
	293	] μενπα [
		] μενος [
	295	] δαυκαικειω [
		] κεμηταυτοσνοε [
		] ωιβαλληταιιδδα [
		] γημετερησμ [
		] ευπερσρηδιονγε [
	300	] ηιφιλεηιδεσε [
		] βιωτουδετεη [
	763	] . . [ ] ι . .] αμπαναπ [
		] μιξωσιθε . . ν . [
	78 or 789	] αθαιμυλιουστειλ [
	1	] περιηθηναοιδηικλειο [
		] διεννεπετεσφετερον [
		] αβροτοιανδρεσομ [
		] ρητοιτεδιοςμεγ [
	5	] γαρβρ [.] αιρεαδεβ [
		] δαριζηλονμινυθε [
		] θυγειςκολιονκαι [
		] βρεμετησοςυπερ [
		] ωναϊωντεδικηιδ [
	10	] ωδεκεπερσρηετ [
		] ονεηνεριδω [
		] ενκενεπα [
		] ηδιαδαγ [
		<i>End of column</i>

In the first line, the tip of a stroke rising to the right is closely followed by two curling up inwards (I think an open-topped o), and these, again closely, by a stroke rising a little higher and looped over to the left, resembling the top of the ξ in 764. But the letters οξ do not appear in the first half of the verse anywhere in *Erga* 294 is omitted by many quoting authors, but present in all manuscripts, including four other papyri 295 καικειω[ος: P. Berol. 21107, codd., and all quotations give κακεϊνωσ. Aristarchus commended και κει- in such cases in Homer (sch. *Il.* 3. 402, *al.*), and Schaefer conjectured it here 296 μήτ' αὐτὸς as *Π*₁₁*Π*₃₃ D, Laur. 32. 2, and quotations, against μήθ' αὐτῶ

of Proclus (?) and most codd. 764 The spacing indicates that λαοὶ not πολλοὶ stood before φημίξωσι, and therefore πολλοὶ not λαοὶ at the end of 763. Π thus agreed with Π₅, codd. and some quotations against Demosthenes, Aeschines, Aristotle, Favorinus, and Proclus φημίξωσι is given by C, Et. Gen. A, the manuscripts of Aristides and Favorinus, and some of those of Demosthenes, Aeschines, and Proclus; other sources give -ξουσι or -ζουσι or -ζωσι 2 δι, i.e. Δι': some codd. and some quotations have δῆ 10 As iota is correctly written in long diphthongs elsewhere (300, 1, 9), the scribe may have understood Πέρση as vocative

3231. HESIOD, Erga, 225-45

57 171/B2 3.5 × 13 cm. Second/third century

Π₅₂. A well-made upright capital of the mixed style of the later second century (or just possibly early third century) A.D. υ and τ both reach well below the line. The back is blank.

	Upper margin	242	].ηλαξε.[
→		225	]δημοικιδιδου[]αμνωικδικαιων[]ανθευεινε.[]. . τροφος ουδεπ[]αιρετα . υ . [
		230	]ανδρακιλ[]μηλοταεργαν[]πολυβι [
			]ανους μες[]οικακαταβε . [
		235	]οικοτατ[]μπερες ου[]ρειζειδω[]κηκαισχε[]εκμαιρετ[
		240	] . ζκακουαν[
		241	]αμηχανα[
		243	]θινυθου[]. υθου[
		245	]μτ[

The verse in the upper margin appears to be 242 (omitted below) in the form in which it is quoted by Plut. Mor. 1040 c (from Chrysippus). ἐπήγαγε codd. 225 Π agrees with codd. in διδούειν (διδώντες Φ); Paley conjectured the subjunctive. See on the next line 226 -νωσι Π, Vat. gr. 904 (first hand) and 1825, Paley: -νουσι the rest δικαίων is a new variant, for -ου of codd. 241 μηχανά[αται as Π₉, codd., and one of Aeschines' quotations: the other has μητιάται 242 See above 244-5 are present; see on Π₄₃ above (p. 50)

3232. HESIOD, *Aspis*, 325–30

P. Oxy. A 8A/8 = C. 841

6.3 × 4.5 cm.

First century

Π₅₁. On the front (→) parts of four lines of an agricultural register in a regular round cursive of the first century A.D. On the back (↓) parts of 6 lines in a clear quickly made linear cursive also probably of the first century A.D.

325 α[]ν[δ[.].φ[η[
 και[.]φεας θαρκυνον[
 χάιρετελυγκῆ[.
 νυν δη ζεϋς κρα[
 κύκνοντεξέναρ[
 330 άλλο[....]ιτιέπροσε[

325 α[γχιμολο]ν, not -oc as J. The *ecthesis* marking a new paragraph is remarkable

3233. ISOCRATES, *περὶ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως* 66–80

13 1B.132/A(1-2)a-b

Fr. B 6.8 × 19.9 cm.

First/second century

Four fragments from a handsome papyrus roll; the backs are blank. Fragments A, B, and C are from §§ 74–80 of Isocrates xv, *περὶ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως*. Fragment D comes from Isocrates viii, *περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης*, § 28. Either the roll originally contained several speeches, or we have part of two different rolls; or, more probably, fragment D belongs to the excerpt viii §§ 25–56 introduced at xv § 66, see below.

The scribe wrote a practised, upright, bilinear book-hand, similar to but less elegant than P. Lit. Lond. 132 (C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, pl. 13b). I should assign it to the late first or earlier second century. The only marks of punctuation are one elision (6) and one trema on iota (52; not written on hypsilon 16, 21, 24, 25). Iota adscript is omitted (10, 39), and there are two itacisms (48, 49). Some obvious errors have been corrected in the text (38, 49) or above the line (34, 39, cf. 13 n.), perhaps by the first hand; a correction of word-order (27) looks like a second hand.

In general, apart from errors of omission, 3233 coincides with the text of the *Urbina* (*I*); note 12, where it supports a right reading of *I*¹ against all other manuscripts; and 41–2, where it ignores the unique reading of another papyrus, I 27 (Pack² 1281). But if fr. D is correctly placed in § 66, we may conclude that the scribe copied out the excerpt from Isocrates viii complete; and if so, 3233 shares the practice of the other manuscripts as against *I*, which gives only the opening and closing words (here as elsewhere, see Isocrates, ed. E. Drerup, 1906, pp. xciv f.). 3233 itself has two unique readings, one of them wrong (51), the other irrecoverable (15 n.).

Collated with the text of G. Mathieu (Budé, 1950).

Fr. D

· · · · ·
 ἐπιθυμει]ν τ[ου συμφεροντος § 66 (= *De Pace* § 28)
 και το]υ πλεο[ν εχειν των αλ-
 λων ουκ] εἶδεναι[ι δε τας πρα-
 ξείς τας ε]πι τ[αυτα
 · · · · ·

Fr. A

· · · · ·
 5 τερον ειρ]ημε[νων αλλως § 74
 τε και νυ]ν οτ'ου [μονον
 μικροις] μερεσι]ν αλλ[ολοις ειδεναι προ-
 ειλομην] χρησθαι προ[ς υμας
 ταυτα] μεν ουν οπ[ως αν
 10 υμιν ευ]μπιπτη π[οιησομεν
 · · · · ·

Fr. B

· · · · ·
 χ[ρωμαι τοις λογοις δουναι § 75
 δ[ικην υμιν αλλ ει μη τοι-
 ουτος οι[οις ουδεις αλλος της
 μ[ε]γιστης [τυχειν τιμωριας
 15 ει τ[ιν]εσ ου[ν υμων
 υπελαβον [τοτε λιαν αλαζονι-
 κον ειναι] και μ[εγα το ρηθεν
 ουκ αν δικαιο[ς ετι την γνω-
 μην ταυτην [εχοιεν οιμαι
 20 γα[ρ] αποδεδω[κεναι την
 υποσχεσιν κ[αι τοιουτους ει-
 ναι τους λογο]υς τους ανα-
 γνωσθεντα[ς οιους περ εξ
 αρχης υπεθε[μην] βου[λο-
 25 μαι δ υμιν δια βρα[χ]εων [α-

§ 76

12 *δίκην υμῖν*: so Γ^1 ; *δίκην ὑμῖν τὴν μεγίστην* $\Gamma^2 \Delta mg.$ Θ ; *δίκην τὴν μεγίστην ὑμῖν* ΔE . The space here is too short for *τὴν μεγίστην*.

13 *τοιούτος*: *τοιούτοις* codd., rightly. It is no longer possible to tell whether the omitted iota was added above the line, since the papyrus is torn away.

15 This line is unusually short (14 letters). It seems that the papyrus had something longer than the unanimous version of the manuscripts.

16 *ὑπέλαβον με* $\Gamma^2 \Delta^2 E$, *ὑπέλαβον* cett. The line is long (23 letters) without *με*, though the argument from space is not rigorous enough to exclude the possibility that it was written.

[The Press reader, noting the reversal of *μᾶλλον ἔτι* in 27, offers the guess that the copyist also reversed the word order of *ὑπέλαβον τότε*, so that *τότε* fell in 15. If so, lines 15 and 16 would each have contained 18–19 letters and have fallen within the normal limits, see above. Note, however, that the person who corrected 27 did not indicate any change of word order above *ὑπέλαβον*.]

27 *ἔτι μᾶλλον* corrected to *μᾶλλον ἔτι* (so manuscripts). For β α (the second now lost in lacuna) used to reverse the word-order, cf. I 16 i 26, P. Amh. I 25. 25.

31 *ποιός*: so Γ^1 cett.; *ποιός τις* $\Gamma^2 E$.

32 *ἡ δικαιότερος* om. Γ^1 , ins. $\Gamma^2 mg.$

33 *εγκ[ω]μ[ια]ζοντος*: so Γ cett.; *-ζεσθαι* E .

38 *ρο[.]c*: the deleted letter may have been hypsilon.

41 f. *και των* *κινδυνων*: so codd. *και των αλλων κ.* I 27, which the space here does not allow.

Fr. C. 51 *των ελλήνων*: *τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων* codd. Probably a simple slip; for the contrast *οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες / ἡ πόλις* (Athens), cf. e.g. viii §§ 14, 136, xv § 85.

52 *ἱκ[ανοι*: the first trace looks *prima facie* like the left-hand half of tau. I take it to be iota, joined at the top by the first half of a trema written as two dashes.

3234. THUCYDIDES I 73. 4–74. 3

37 3B.87/K(14)a

Fr. 1 6.3 × 9.6 cm.

First/second century

Fr. 2 1.1 × 3.9 cm.

Two fragments, the first from the beginning of a column with a top margin of 1.5 cm. The fragments are too small to determine if they come from a copy of a whole book or from a collection of speeches as in XIII 1621. Approximately 28 lines are missing between them and no fibre matches have been found. This could be due to an intervening join of two sheets. It is also possible that fr. 2 belonged to the same column as fr. 1 (the column would have been at least 49 lines long) or that it was lower in its column than fr. 1 in its column (the column could then be no more than 30 lines). The back is blank.

The writing is a practised, plain, semi-documentary hand of a type found in both the late first and early second centuries. Although similar letter forms can be found earlier, e.g. XXVII 2471 of about A.D. 50, and later, e.g. P. Merton II 71 of A.D. 160–3, most letter forms and the style can best be compared with P. Lond. III 1177 of A.D. 113. Characteristic letters are the square β , ϵ with a high cross stroke which frequently closes the upper half and makes the letter extremely like θ , κ and τ broader and more flamboyant than the other letters, ς very frequently an almost closed curve and very similar to the larger form of σ . Punctuation is both by spaces (lines 3, 5, 10) and a combination of high stop and space (lines 6, 7). What difference there was between these two types, if any, is not clear.

In so far as one can judge the text in a section so small and free from divergences, it is,

as expected, eclectic. Most of its differences from Hude's large edition (Leipzig, 1898–1902), with which a complete collation of the papyrus is given in the notes, are in the matter of *ν-έφελευκτικόν*, which the papyrus avoids and Hude favours. In the only two cases (lines 2 and 11) where it might be possible to speak of differing traditions, the papyrus presents the better reading, although in one case this is found in CEGMf and in the other in CG.

Fr. 1 → οπ]ερ ερχε μη κατα πολεις α[υ-
 τον επιπλεοντα την πελοπ[ον-
 νησιν πορθειν αδυνατων [αν
 οντων προς ναυς πολλας αλλ[η-
 5 λους επιβοηθειν τεκμηριον[
 δε μεγαιστον αυτος εποιησε· υ[ι-
 κηθεις γα[ρ τ]αις ναυσι· ως ουκε[τι
 αυτωι ομ[οι]ας ουσης της δυναμ[ε-
 ως κατα ταχ]ος τωι πλεονι το[υ
 10 στρατου ανεχ]ωρησε τοιουτου μ[εν-
 τοι τουτου ξ]υμβαντος και σαφ[ως
 δηλωθειτο]ς οτι εν ταις γαυ[κι
 των ελληνω]ν τα πραγ[ματα εγε-
 νετο τρια τα ωφελιμ]ωτ[ατα ες

c. 28 lines lost

Fr. 2
].[.].[
 τω το λ]οιπο[ν νεμεσθαι επειδη ε-
 45 δεικα]τε υ[περ υμων και ου
 χ ημων] το π[λεον εβοηθη-
 σατε ο]τε γου[ν ημεν ετι σωοι ου
 παρε]γενε[σθε ημεις δε απο τε
 της ο]υκ ο[υσης

1 α[low horizontal trace and low traces 2 π[left upright and part of cross stroke 4 λ[small high and low traces
 5 υ[very small high trace 6 δε traces of a low horizontal and oblique sloping down to right, then scattered traces
 7 κηθεις low oblique sloping down to right (κ), cross stroke (η), traces of low curve, higher horizontal and scattered (θ), ε faint but visible under microscope
 8 αυτωι right downward sloping oblique (α), traces of ντ, traces then curve of ω, then vertical (ι)
 12 γαυ[traces of tops of letters 14]ωτ[traces of curve then long high horizontal
 43].[.].[bottom of rounded letter, then, after a gap, a small trace of a foot 45 υ[high trace of curve
 46 π[high horizontal 49]υκ[ο[:]υ looks as if it may have been corrected

- 2 τήν CEGM, τήν τε ABF, τε del. f.
 2-3 πελοπ[ον]νησον: so ABEFM, Πελοπόννησον CG; possibly only one ν or else ὀ in the papyrus.
 3 [αν] omitted by C; spacing indicates that it was in the papyrus in this form or as $\bar{\alpha}$.
 6 ἐποίησε ABFGc, ἐποίησεν CM Hude.
 7 ναυσι ναυίν manuscripts. The high stop is very small, but even under a microscope no connection with ι is visible.
 10 ἀνεχώρησε ACEFGM ἀνεχώρησεν B Hude.
 11 τούτου ξυμβάντος CG ξυμβάντος τούτου ABEFMG₁.
 43-9 How the restored lines in this fragment should be divided cannot be determined.
 44 τὸ om. AB.

III. SUB-LITERARY TEXTS

3235-6. RHETORICAL DECLAMATIONS

Third century

The fragments collected under these numbers are of *μελέται* written in the *persona* of Demosthenes. (The technical term for the exercise would be *Δημοσθένην ἀγωνίζεσθαι*, cf. Philostratus, *Vitae Sophist.* 575.) Both 3235 and 3236 are written across the fibres in a severe style to be assigned probably to the third century; but two hands may be distinguished. 3235 is more widely spaced, not only between letters but between lines, and it displays a greater contrast between thick and thin strokes of the pen; and the columns are apparently shorter than those of 3236. What is more, there are constant differences in some of the letter formations. Beta in 3235 lacks the horizontal bar at the base that it has in 3236; xi has its top and bottom bars connected in 3235, whereas in 3236 the centre is distinct; sigma and epsilon arc invariably tall and narrow in 3235, but often smaller and more rounded in 3236, and in the case of epsilon the mid-stroke which is generally kept short in 3236 is regularly extended in 3235; the stem of upsilon is a continuation of the right-hand side of the cup in 3235, of the left-hand side in 3236. Such differences take on special significance when they occur in such a standard type of script; and the inference that two manuscripts are represented is to some extent borne out by the writing on the front: in either case a register of amounts of land, but the fragments of 3236 have the declamation written the same way up as the document on the front, those of 3235 the other way up.

The alterations made in the texts, at any rate in 3236, give the impression of textual revision rather than correction of scribal error, so that the pieces are probably autographs of contemporary compositions. As Demosthenic *μελέται* they are not particularly impressive, though the Attic is on the whole good and the writers knew their author well, at least the Philippic orations and the *De Corona*. They plagiarize somewhat clumsily.

Demosthenes figures quite large in the meletic repertoire as represented on papyrus, as is only to be expected: VI 858, an attack on him which utilizes the *De Corona*; BKT 7. 4-13, a speech based on the *in Leptinem* and put into Leptines' mouth; XV 1799, a vindication of Demosthenes' anti-Macedonian policy; cf. III 444, which mentions Philip and the Macedonians, and II 216, directed against Philip but in Asianic style. But these are the first certain papyrus examples of declamations actually in his person.

3235

28 4B.61/G(15)a

Fr. 1, 14.1 × 13.5 cm.

Fr. 2, 8.2 × 13.8 cm.

Fr. 3, 7.8 × 14.5 cm.

3235 is an Olynthiac, given a firm dramatic date of 349–348 B.C. by the historical situation set out in fr. 2. Though the speaker is not positively identified as Demosthenes, the political stance is clearly his, and that the speech is in his *persona* is not open to doubt. The *problemata* of *μελέται* are generally fictional but historically based: the argument of 3235 does not emerge.

Fr. 1

Col. i

↓	πανταεστινὑμέτερα τουτου[. . .]γοψω]ἔχομεν'τους ορουστοδεγννουδετα εντοσπυλωνεαυτοις 5]φυλαξαμ ρυποβο ...]αισδετις αινοθορ ..]λ.ρδεδουλορε.) .]ειτο.λη. .σειπειν ..]..ποιειτ. .τωγη.ε 10 .].ρωνκτη. .των[. .] αιουδεμεριζεταιιαλ .]απαντ.ναπλωση ασαπιος.ερεινβουλε αιειδε.ουτο[υ]ιχαχθεσ 15 .].τοικλο. .ικκαμηδεισ ..]τινὑμιτωνελλη c. 6].[...]μενων	πάντα ἐστὶν ὑμέτερα, τούτου[ς] ἔχομεν' τοὺς ὄρους· τὸ δὲ νῦν οὐδὲ τὰ ἐντὸς Πυλῶν ἑαυτοῖς 5 ἐ]φυλάξαμεν, ὑποβο- λιμ]αῖος δέ τις καὶ νόθος, μᾶ]λλον δὲ δοῦλος, εἰ δ]εῖ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἀν]τιποιεῖται τῶν ἡμε- 10 τ]έρων κτημάτων καὶ οὐδὲ μερίζεται, ἀλ- λ]ὰ πάντων ἀπλῶς ἡ- μᾶς ἀποστερεῖν βούλε- ται. εἰ δὲ τούτοις ἄχθεσ- 15 θε] τοῖς λόγοις καὶ μηδεῖς ἐς]τιν ὑμῖν τῶν Ἑλλη-
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Col. ii
 .[c. 5]εγωτ.[
].εινπ[
].γτευθ[
]αθην[
 5 ..φ[...].ππος[
 οισ[...].σεκει[
 ορκε[...].υγγει[
 μεισειγαρτο[
 γεν..πολεμ[
 10 ε.ςτηνελλα[
 π[...].[...].ρ[...].ςκα[
 εκειθειυμ[
 λεμων[πολ[
 χετα[
 15 ανδρε[
 ρικ[...].πτ[
 τ.[
 α[

Col. ii 5 .., κι suggested, perhaps υ

Col. i	Col. ii	Fr. 2
]τω(ν)	ςπ[.]νδουσαι...[
]ν	ολυθιους ουτως	οϋτως
]ετ	ϋ.ωναμελουντω	ϋμων αμελούντω(ν)
	πυδνααπωλετου	Πύδνα άπόλετο, οϋ-
5	τωσαμφιπ[.]λιου	τως Αμφίπ[ο]λις, οϋ-
	τωποδ'τ'ιδαια[γ]ου	τω Πο'τ'ιδαία, οϋ-
	τωκινδυνευει.[	τω κινδυνεύει κ[αί
	νυνολυθοςτα[	νϋν "Ολυθος· τὰ[ς
	γαρϋμετερασα.[	γάρ υμετέρας α.[
10	..]ασιφιλιπποσπ[	..]ας Φίλιππος π[
	..]μβαγωναποα[	λα]μβάνων από Α[μ-
	..]πολε...ρις[	φι]πόλεως άχρως [΄Ο-
	υγθουπροηλθε[	λύνθου προήλθε[ν,

	αλλακαινυγανα . . [	ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἀνα . . [
15	τε·επὸ λυθιου φ . [	τε ἐπ' Ὀλυθίου Φί-
	λιπποσαγα . . [ωτογ[	λιππος
	πολε . ρν . ε . ο [

Col. i 1 τω̄ ii 9 . [, a high and a low trace (the latter thick), nearly joining; direction not clear, but suggesting an inward-curving upright 10 . ., the first trace high and thick, suggesting an upright joining another stroke of indeterminate direction; the second trace an upright or possibly the right-hand side of a curve π[, or γ 14 . . [, surface rubbed: clear only, immediately after α, a low thick trace apparently slightly oblique 16 τ, or γ ρ[, or μ, λ, less good 17 ., represented by two uprights ρ, or ω . (alterum), π, μ, ν

Col. i	Fr. 3	Col. ii
		κη[
	]αϛ και >	μ[
	]. [ . ] ζμερη	τε[
	]ει και πο[.]	εκ . [
	]ετε λα`μ`βα	επι . . . π[
5	]παραχω >	παντωγ[
	]χης Μακε	χειαιειδ[
	]ε Φιλιππω	μεσηστ . [
	]αϛ αφιστα	πολεικει . . [
	]των Αθη	δημουσα . [
10	]λυτ[[ε]]`αι`υμω(ν)	μειω . . [
	]. Φιλιππος	ρωγαπα[
	]γουμε >	κτημα[
	]ανεται >	στιγ τα[.]θ[
	]υμετερου .	χ υμετερα[
15	]πα . αιτα	.. [.] λλας ουχ[
	]βουλεται .	... ] ντατα[
	]υμεις οι	..] γκα[
	] . αιμε .	. . . . .
	]αϛ[
	

In upper margin above col. i and intercolumnium, in informal hand:] . . . κ[. . .]. Perhaps Δημο-
 ρθ]ενικ[ός (sc. λόγος, or -κή, sc. μελέτη, or -κόν?); in which case this fragment will in fact be the begin-
 ning of the *declamatio*.

Col. i 1, 5, 12, 13: filler signs a zigzag shape
 17 τ, or ρ

11] ., speck at line level

15 ., c poss.

	Fr. 4	Fr. 5	Fr. 6	Fr. 7

	π.[	]..τ.[	]π[	]λυ[
	απ[	]τετ.[	]μ[	. . . . .
	πυδ[	]ειη[
	.ιδ.[	]εγ[γ]γε[
5	φιλτ[	]μη'[[δ]]'δ[
	ανδρ[	]ιωνα'. '[
	κενη[	]βασπ[
	μαχο[].[
	ευ[
10	γαδ.[
	πορθ[
	αλλα[
	ει..[
	μα[
15	δ[
			

Fr. 4 1 .[, low trace, perhaps υ 2 π[, or γ

Fr. 1 Col. i '... are all yours, these are the boundaries we have. But as it is, we failed to guard for ourselves even our territory this side of Thermopylae; some supposititious bastard, or slave rather, if the truth must be told, is laying claim to our possessions, and does not even go shares, but wants simply to rob us of everything. If these words annoy you and there is no one . . .'

1-3 Presumably 'Demosthenes' has been outlining the extent of the Athenian empire.

2 Perhaps [[*κυνοψω*]], but the papyrus is too mutilated to allow it to be confirmed. The tau of the following *τους* is contiguous with the omega, so that its top stroke comes partly across it. Instead of *ἔχομεν*, *ε[τ]χομεν* (or *ε[ε]χομεν*) could be read, but *ἔστιν* favours the present tense. The change of person is unwelcome: perhaps emend to *ἡμέτερα*.

3 *τὸ δὲ νῦν*, used in preference to the regular *νῦν δέ*, displays acquaintance with adverbial *τὸ νῦν*.

3-5 Athens had in fact taken urgent action to prevent Philip passing through Thermopylae in 352 after his capture of Pagasae. Unless the composer is guilty of a bad anachronism, this phrase must be accounted to rhetorical licence. If the allusion is to Athenian failure to support the Phocians in their attempt to hold the pass in the summer of 346, it is a little late in the day to be warning of the danger to Olynthus (fr. 2). The crucial significance of the pass is clearly brought out at *De Cor.* 32, where Demosthenes affirms that Philip's purpose in restraining the false embassy from returning to Athens at once after the administration of the oath had been to prevent the Athenians sailing to Thermopylae and closing the pass, *ἀλλ' ἄμ' ἀκούοιτε ταῦτ' ἀπαγγελλόντων ἡμῶν κακείνος* (*sc.* Philip) *ἐντὸς εἴη Πυλῶν καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοιθ' ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι*. (Cf. the opening sentence of Libanius' invective against Aeschines, *or.* XVII: *Οὐκ ἦν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἄρκοῦν Αἰσχίνῃ τούτῳ Πύλας ἀνοῖξαι Φιλίππῳ κτλ.*) It may be that our author derived both the fundamental idea and the specific phrase *ἐντὸς Πυλῶν* from this passage.

4 *ἑαυτοῖς* for *ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς* could possibly be defended as Demosthenic, but the idiom belonged also to the *κοινή*.

5–8 Ineptly adapted from *Phil.* 3. 30–1: εἰ δέ γε δοῦλος ἢ ὑποβολιμαῖος τὰ μὴ προσήκοντ' ἀπάλλυε καὶ ἐλυμαίνετο, Ἡράκλειος ὅσῳ μᾶλλον δεινὸν καὶ ὀργγῆς ἄξιον πάντες ἂν ἔφησαν εἶναι. Demosthenes' point is that Athenian losses are all the more intolerable as being suffered at the hands of a man who is not even a true-born Hellene (γνήσιος τῆς Ἑλλάδος), but our author seizes on the words δοῦλος and ὑποβολιμαῖος and transfers them into a context of literal fact.

10–11 What remains at the end of 10 is prima facie the mid-stroke of epsilon characteristically prolonged at the line end, with a trace of the extremity of its upper curve above. If so, there is a minimal trace before the epsilon which the limited amount of space requires to be iota, and thus ἕται (‘he rushes onward’?) all but enforces itself. However, this is scarcely tolerable Greek (and certainly not Demosthenic), and it seems preferable to regard the traces as an excised letter.

11 οὐδὲ μερίζεται: οὐδένι ἐρίζεται could equally well be read, but would be inferior in sense and language alike.

Col. ii 1 . [The traces are further to the left than would be expected for the first letter of the line. Unless the alignment was at a considerable slope, a marginal mark of some kind.

3 ἐντεῦθ[εν].

5 Φ[ίλι]ππος.

6–7 πολ[ι]ορκεῖ or ἐπι]ορκεῖ, then [ε]υγγεν[ε].

10 εἰς τὴν Ἑλλά[δα].

12–13 πο]λέμων.

14–15 Not necessarily ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι.

16 Probably πε]ρικ[ό]πτ[-].

Fr. 2 Col. ii ‘. . . bring the Olynthians into alliance(?). It was thus by your negligence that Pydna was lost, thus Amphipolis, thus Potidaea, thus even now stands Olynthus in danger. For Philip, anticipating your negligence on each occasion (?), has advanced from Amphipolis as far as Olynthus. Now at last rouse yourselves to action (?). Against the Olynthians Philip . . .’

This passage shows plainly that the declamation is an Olynthiac, with a dramatic date of 349–348 B.C. But the precise nature of the ὑπόθεσις remains unclear.

1–2 The Athenians are presumably being berated for failing to make alliance with Olynthus.

1 The Demosthenic compounds are ὑπο-, ἐκ-, and ἄσπονδος; perhaps ἐνσπόνδους here for all that. At the end probably either ποιεῖσθαι or ποιεῖν.

3 The Athenians' ἀμέλεια is a recurrent target for criticism throughout the Philippic orations. I note particularly *Ol.* 1. 10–11 (τὸ μὲν γὰρ πόλλ' ἀπολαλεκέναί κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀμελείας ἂν τις θεῖη δικαίως), *Phil.* 1. 5 f. (φύσει δ' ὑπάρχει . . . τοῖς ἐθέλουσι πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν τὰ τῶν ἀμελούντων. καὶ γὰρ τοὶ ταύτην χρησάμενος (sc. Philip) τῇ γνώμῃ πάντα κατέστραπται καὶ ἔχει—cf. *Phil.* 4. 47, 49), *Phil.* 1. 11 (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος (sc. Philip) παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ρώμην τοσοῦτον ἐπηύξηται, ὅσον παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀμέλειαν), *Phil.* 3. 5.

4–6 Perhaps the composer was unaware that Amphipolis was taken before Pydna. Demosthenes gives the towns in the order of their capture (*Ol.* 1. 12, cf. 8–9 and 5).

9–10 The word spanning these lines is presumably a noun governed by προ-, περι-, or προσλαμβάνειν: ἀμ[ε]λείας π[ρο]λ[α]μβάνων? Demosthenes does not use ἀμέλεια in the plural, but Plato and Aristotle do, and it is appropriate here: ‘your negligence on each occasion’.

12 ἄχρισ [Ὁ]λύνθου. ἄχρισ, it is generally agreed, is not Attic. That is not to say that the composer did not find ἄχρισ in his Demosthenes.

14 ff. are difficult. The stops(?) in 15 and 17 are in a more watery ink, and should perhaps be ignored. Respecting the first stop, in 14–15 we could supply an imperative, e.g. ἀναστ[ῆ]τε, but then the subsequent asyndeton seems uncomfortable. Alternatively something like ἂν ἀργῆτε, ‘if you do nothing’, continuing ‘Philip will attack the Olynthians’, e.g. τὸν πόλεμον ἐπο[ί]σει in 16–17 (this line of approach is due to Mr. Parsons); but then the opening ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν seems inappropriate, and the whole thing very feeble. Remaining quite intractable is ἀγα[.]ω in 16, for which I have nothing plausible to suggest.

Fr. 3 Col. ii 14–15 οὐ]χ.

16 [ἄ]λλας or [Ἐ]λλάς.

Fr. 4 3, 4 Πύδ[υ]να, Πό]τιδα[ια]: cf. 2 ii 4–6.

3236

29 4B.56/X(1-3)a

Fr. 1, 13 × 16.3 cm.

Fr. 2, 9.2 × 16.5 cm.

Two fragments, each with remains of two columns. The speech, patently in the person of Demosthenes, is directed against Aeschines. It looks a competent enough piece of work, though hardly distinguished. Fr. 1 combines an attack on Aeschines with an implicit exhortation to the Athenians to uphold their tradition of honour and self-sacrifice; reference to the exploits of Miltiades and Themistocles serves both ends. Fr. 2, in an apparent allusion to the 'wooden wall' Salamis oracle, seems to develop the metaphor of the fleet as a wall.

Fr. 1

Col. i

↓	.ατρωνογαρε τιν τουτοαισχνητωδε δημωσωζειντηνελ λαδακαιπολεωσπα 5 ση προκινδυνευειν τα·'[[δι]]'αυτων[[δα'ε']]εισφερον τας'και'δαπα ωμενους εαν'δε'δεηκα[.]αυτ[[ου]]'η'σα φηρημενουστησπα 10 τριδοςουχιτωνεπιθρα κησχηρ'κτηματωναισχι νηαμφιπολεωσκαι ειτιοιουτνεστιν εντοιςθρακιουσσειροις 15 καιβαραθρ ιωσσελεγεσ παλαιαλλατουπειρε αιωσστησακροπολεωσ τησελευσεινοσ τουτ[.] τοπατριον^τροπαιον^τωναθη 20 ν[[αι]]ων'τησελλαδοσ^ εικοτωσεστρατηγει γαρουκαισχηνησεχθεσ	πατρῶον γάρ ἐστιν τοῦτο, Αἰσχίνη, τῷδε <τῷ> δήμῳ, σῶζειν τὴν Ἑλ- λάδα καὶ πόλεωσ πά- σης προκινδυνεύειν, τὰ αὐτῶν εἰσφέρον- τασ καὶ δαπανωμένους, εἰάν {δε} δέη κα[ι] αὐτῆσ ἀ- φηρημένους τῆσ πα- τρίδοσ, οὐχὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Θρά- κησ κτημάτων, Αἰσχι- νη, Ἀμφιπόλεωσ καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ἐν τοῖσ Θρακίοισ σιροῖσ καὶ βαράθροισ, ὡσ ἔλεγεσ πάλαι, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Πειραι- έωσ, τῆσ ἀκροπόλεωσ, τῆσ Ἑλευσεινοσ. τοῦτ[ο] τὸ πάτριον τῶν Ἀθη- νῶν, εἰκότωσ· ἐστρατήγει γάρ οὐκ Αἰσχίνησ, ἐχθεσ
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Col. ii

	κα .π[.]ωηγαποτ[καὶ π[ρ]ώην ἀπὸ τ[
	λουμεταβαξεπι[λου μεταβάς ἐπὶ [τὸ
	βημακαιμηδε[βῆμα καὶ
	ρημαδυναμ[
5	τααθηναιων[
	ματ[.]ουδεδ . .[
	αποτηριλια .[
	πηδηαστ[
	ciaicaλλαμ[	είαις, ἀλλὰ Μ[ιλτιάδης,
10	αλλαθεμιστ[	ἀλλὰ Θεμιστ[οκλής·
	ομοιοιγεουγαρ[	ὅμοιοί γε, οὐ γάρ, [Αἰσχί-
	νηδημαγωγομ[	νη; δημαγωγοί. Μ[ιλ-
	τιαδης[.]ενουδετ[	τιάδης [μ]έν οὐδὲ τ[οὺς
	κυμμαχουσαν[	κυμμάχους ἀν[α-
15	μενωνμονους[	μένων μόνους [τοὺς
	αθηναιουσαντετ[	Ἀθηναίους ἀντέτ[ατ-
	τεπροσπασαντη[	τε πρὸς πάσαν τῆ[ν
	στρατ[ε]ιαντηνβ[	στρατιὰν τὴν β[α-
	κιλικηνκυδετα[	κιλικήν, ἐν δὲ τὰ[ς οὐ-
20	δεμαχασεκλειπ[	δὲ μάχας ἐκλείπ[ειν
	αξιοιστατωνκυ[	ἀξιοῖς τὰς τῶν κυ[μ-
	μαχωνθεμιστοκ[	μάχων. Θεμιστοκ[λής
	μεναυτασὑπερτη[	μὲν αὖ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆ[ς

6 . .[, minimal traces

7 .[, low trace, apparently oblique

		Fr. 2	
		Col. i	Col. ii
			τριήρεις ἔχη[τ
			ἀλλοῦ ἢ τείχος [
		]των[	κτητον καὶ [
		]γτα	και δυναμει[
		]θαλατ[	5 ταυτας ενεβα[
		]γα	ὑμῶν οἱ πρόγ[ονοι
5		]ημεις	τατουσκιנדυ[
		]τρο	.αθηραιων[
		]με	.τερασπολεις [
		]αμει	10 τειχος ὑμειν α[
		]μιτο	λέστερον Ἀπολλ[λ-
10		]καιπαγ	Πύθιε, μαρτύρ[
		]εκων'[[.]]'	οὔτος ὁ τειχισμ[ὸς
		]ζας	τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ ἀ[νά-
		]ενθα	15 λωτός ἐστιν κα[
		]προ	τω θαρρουσιν υ[
15		]υποα	ἔξεστι καταφ[
		]εδε	.αι[[ῦ]]ποτεῖουδ[
		]γονοι	ταγηνεπιμελ[
		]οιχει	20 καιπροσεπισκ[
		]...].τ.	ζεεαναλαμ[
20		]...]εκαι	γετε τα...επινυν'[[ταιπινοφ[
			.ειδεμηκατ[

Col. ii 8 ... 9 ., scattered traces on misplaced fibres; perhaps only one letter before c in 8 9 .[, speck at letter-top level 18 ., high horizontal: τ, ξ, c, possible, not ν τ, corrected from (rather than to) ο or ρ?

Fr. 1 'For it is a tradition of this people, Aeschines, to keep Greece safe and to bear the brunt of danger for every city, by contributing and spending out of their own pockets, even, should it be necessary, if deprived of their country itself—not of their possessions in Thrace, Aeschines, Amphipolis and whatever of that sort lies in the Thracian barns and pits, as you used to say, but of the Piraeus, of the acropolis, of Eleusis. This is the tradition of Athens—and rightly so: for the commander of the forces was not Aeschines, who only yesterday or the day before came up on to the speaker's platform from the tholos(?) . . . : no, he was Miltiades, he was Themistocles—leaders on a par with you, Aeschines, were they not? Miltiades, without even waiting for the allies, proceeded to draw up the Athenians unsupported against the entire Persian army; while you think fit to desert our allies' battles when they are not even battles(?). Themistocles . . .'

Col. i 2 τῶδε <τῶ>. The slip is surprising in view of the familiarity with Attic otherwise shown.

5 προκινδυνεύειν: the word of the Marathon oath, *de Cor.* 208. Ptolemy of Naucratis was given the nickname 'Marathon' ἐπειδὴ ἐν ταῖς Ἀττικαῖς τῶν ὑποθέσεων τῶν Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντων θαμὰ ἐμνημόνευεν (Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* 595).

6 τα· [[δι]]. Apparently two stages of correction. First δι was substituted for τα, the latter being cancelled by a dot on either side; then δι was crossed through, thereby conferring a *stel* on τα.

8 {δέ}. Though δέ represents the emended version, I do not see that it can stand without the further (unmade) alteration of ἀφηρημένους to ἀφαιρουμένους.

10-18 Clearly dependent on *De Chers.* 44-5 (almost = *Phil.* 4. 15-16), which runs: οὐ γὰρ οὕτω γ' εὐήθης οὐδέεις ὃς ὑπολαμβάνει τὸν Φίλιππον τῶν μὲν ἐν Θράκῃ κακῶν (τί γὰρ ἂν ἄλλο τις εἴποι Δρογγίλον καὶ Καβύλην καὶ Μάστειραν καὶ ἃ νῦν ἐξαιρεῖ [καὶ κατασκευάζεται]); τούτων μὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταῦτα λαβεῖν καὶ πόνους καὶ χειμῶνας καὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους ὑπομένειν, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων λιμένων καὶ νεωρίων καὶ τριήρων καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀργυρείων καὶ τοσοῦτων προσόδων οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐάσειν ἔχειν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν μελινῶν καὶ τῶν ὀλυρῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς Θρακίους κυροῖς ἐν τῷ βαράθρῳ χειμάζειν. ὡς ἔλεγεσ πάλαι is apparently a fiction of the composer.

16-17 Πειραιῶς: either a misspelling of Πειραιέως or an unsuccessful shot at the Attic form (Πειραιῶς).

19-20 The oblique strokes marking off τρόπαιον and τῆς Ἑλλάδος may possibly be intended to indicate not deletion but an alternative version (τρόπαιον for πάτριον, τῆς Ἑλλάδος for τῶν Ἀθηναίων).

21 εἰκότως: evidently taught as a characteristically Demosthenic idiom; cf. ὁμοιοί γε, οὐ γάρ ii. 11.

21 f. ἐστρατήγει γὰρ οὐκ Αἰσχίνης. The switch to the third person, and the reversion to direct address at ii 11, may be deliberately affected. Theon of Alexandria recommends such variation as being ἐπιτερπέστερον (74 f. Spengel ii).

22-Col. ii 3 The jibe, along with some of the phraseology, is apparently taken from *De Cor.* 130: ... ὅψι γὰρ ποτε—ὅψι λέγω; χθές (contemporary texts may have had εχθες) μὲν οὖν καὶ πρόην ἄμ' Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονε. (This extract is quoted at a later date by the rhetorician Tiberius, π. Δημοσθένους *σχημάτων* § 9, as an example of ἐπιδιόρθωσις—the self-correction ὅψι λέγω; etc.—but our author does not avail himself of this figure.) ἀπὸ τ[± 4]λου presents many possibilities, of which I mention only τῆς πηλοῦ, τοῦ ὄχλου, and τῆς θόλου. If the last, the disparaging point will be in clumsy modification of two passages of a similar quasi-biographical nature in the *De Fals. Leg.*, each directed against Aeschines: 314 . . . ὁ τέως προσκυνῶν τὴν θόλον, 249 . . . καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ὑφ' ὑμῶν γραμματεῖς χειροτονηθέντες δὲ ἔτη διετράφησαν ἐν τῇ θόλῳ, πρεσβεύων δ' ἀπέσταλτο νῦν οὗτος ἐκ ταύτης.

3-9 I cannot give a plausible restoration of these lines. The nearest I can get to a coherent sense is μηδὲ [ἐν εἰπεῖν] ῥῆμα δυνάμι[ενος πρόσ] τὰ Ἀθηναίων [πράγ]ματ[α] οὐ δεδεγ[μένον] ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰλιάδος, 'unable to utter a single word on Athenian affairs not taken from the Iliad'. This is open to objection not only on account of its bad Greek, especially in the matter of negatives, but also because it makes lines 3 and 4 too long. ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰλιάδος, however, is hard to avoid: the reference seems to be a dig at Aeschines' quotations in his speech against Timarchus.

8-9 πηδήσας calls to mind ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα at *In Ctes.* 173, where Aeschines reviews Demosthenes' life in much the same way as Demosthenes in turn reviews his at *De Cor.* 129-31. Rea suggests ἐπι]πηδήσας τ[αῖς ἐκκλη]σίαις.

9-10 ἀλλὰ Μ[ιλτιάδης], ἀλλὰ Θεμιστ[οκλῆς] I take as picking up ἐστρατήγει γὰρ οὐκ Αἰσχίνης at i 21 f., but ἀλλὰ . . . ἀλλὰ is also a possibility.

11-12 ὁμοιοί γε, οὐ γάρ, Αἰσχίνης; δημαγωγοί: a Demosthenic idiom: *In Tim.* 106 ὁμοιοί γ' οὐ γάρ; ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Σύλων νομοθέτης καὶ Τιμοκράτης, *ibid.* 181 (= *In Androt.* 73) ὁμοίων γε, οὐ γάρ; τοῦτο τοῖς προτέροις ἐπιγράμμασιν, *De Cor.* 136, cf. 318. I take it that *col* is to be 'understood' and that δημαγωγοί has a neutral not a 'bad' connotation, but it may be that the composer did not properly understand the use of the idiom and intended δημαγωγοί to imply a distinction between Aeschines as a rabble-rouser and such statesmen as Miltiades and Themistocles.

12 ff. Marathon and Salamis held pride of place in the tradition of Athens as the saviour of Greece, and were no doubt a stock theme in Attic declamations. The appeal to Athens' glorious past is couched in these terms in the third century B.C. μελέτη P. Hib. I 15. 106: ὡς ἀνάξιόν ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἐμ Μαραθῶνι καὶ Σαλαμῖνι κινδύνων διατελεῖν ὑμᾶς τὸ σύνολον ἀπογιγνώσκοντας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κτλ. How much of a commonplace this sort of thing became may be judged by Ptolemy of Naucratis' nickname Marathon.

Direct comparison is too common a technique of disparagement to be significant in itself, but a particular influence here may well be the comparison that Aeschines draws between Demosthenes and statesmen of past days at *In Ctes.* 181 ff. Common points of detail are that the question at issue is their generalship, and that the list of past statesmen is headed by Themistocles and Miltiades (but in that order in Aeschines): *πότερον ὑμῖν ἀμείνων ἀνὴρ δοκεῖ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ στρατηγῆσας ὅτ' ἐν τῇ περὶ Καλαμῖνα ναυμαχίᾳ τὸν Πέρην ἐνικᾶτε, ἢ Δημοσθένης, ὁ νυνὶ τὴν τάξιν λιπῶν; Μιλτιάδης δέ, ὁ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην νικήσας, ἢ οὗτος;* Our author seems to have taken the opportunity of turning the comparison back on Aeschines himself—an opportunity that the Ur-Demosthenes rejected (*De Cor.* 314 ff.).

14 ἀν[a leaves the line somewhat short but is hardly to be doubted. A filler sign may have been used.

18 βασιλικήν is no doubt another conscious Atticism. Demosthenes habitually refers to the king of Persia as βασιλεύς, and uses the adjective at *Pro Lib. Rhod.* 5.

19–20 The restoration τὰ[ε οὐ]δὲ μάχας avoids a repetition of the slip at i 2 (i.e. τὰ[ε]δὲ <τὰς> μάχας). Though it gives a greater rhetorical point than would τὰ[ε τῆ]δὲ μάχας, it is linguistically very bold.

24 Continue on the lines of: Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν αὖ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆ[ε ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας συνειλεγμένας τριήρεις . . . , εὐ δὲ . . .

Fr. 2 The ultimate source of this fragment appears to be the famous Salamis oracle, the second of the Delphic oracles given to the Athenian envoys when Attica was threatened by Xerxes: *Hdt.* 7. 141. Whatever disputes as to its meaning there were at the time, the interpretation that established itself was that the wooden wall stood for the ships. In rhetorical literature, the line *τείχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον δίδοι εὐρύσοπα Ζεὺς* is cited by Theon as an example of a trope (*Progymn.* 81 Sp. ii), and Philostratus quotes it in the introduction to the *Vitae Sophistarum* (481). Libanius alludes to the oracle in connection with the victory at Salamis: *or.* XV 40 τὴν δὲ (sc. ναυμαχίαν) ἥ προσόμοιον οὐδέν, δι' ἣν ἡ Καλαμὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πυθίου θεοῦ θεῖα προσείρητο, cf. XV 37 ναυμαχία μετὰ χρησμῶν κατορθούμεναι. The oracle, and especially the *τείχος ξύλινον*, held an important place in βίοι of Themistocles: cf. *Plut. Them.* 10, *Corn. Nep. Them.* 2. 6–8, *Polyaen. Strat.* I 30. 2. Unless this passage is to be interpreted simply by reference to the naval reforms successfully carried through by Demosthenes, the allusion here may be taken as implying that a similar course of action to that enjoined by the oracle is being recommended, i.e. that the hypothesis consists of a motion that the Athenians abandon the city and resort to the fleet. Cf. *Philost. Vit. Soph.* 543, on a declamation by Polemo: (*Δημοσθένης*) *ξυμβουλευῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τριήρων φεύγειν ἐπιόντος μὲν Φιλίππου, νόμον δὲ Αἰσχίνου κεκυρωκότος ἀποθνήσκειν τὸν πολέμου μνημονεύσαντα.* (For a *problema* under the original circumstances cf. *Apsines* 332 Sp. i: ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς πείσας ἐκλείπειν τὴν πόλιν γράφει αὐτοῦς καὶ ἐμπερῆσαι τὸ ἄστυ, cf. also *Syrian.* II 203 SR (non-fictitious), which quotes the *τείχος* line.) If this is so, the occasion envisaged will be one when the city was in imminent danger from Philip: the spring of 338 is evidently suitable. (The fictional basis, if not the death-penalty liability of Polemo's theme, could be that after Philip's capture of Elatea Thebes had rejected Athens' overtures and accepted alliance with Philip.)

Col. i 17 πρό]γονοι.

Col. ii 1–6 e.g. τριήρεις ἔχη[τ' οὐδὲν] ἄλλο ἢ τεῖχος [τι οὐχὲ] κτητόν καὶ [ὑμᾶς εῶ]σαι δυνάμεν[ον· εἰς γὰρ] ταύτας ἐνέβα[ινον] ὑμῶν οἱ πρόγ[ονοι . . . , 'that in the triremes what you have is a wall, uncapturable(?) and able to save you, for it was these triremes that your forefathers used to board . . . '.

1 Or ἔχη[τε τί]. The tradition behind the metaphor makes it less Isocratean than it would otherwise have been.

2–3 οὐχὲ] κτητόν, 'not gettable', i.e. 'uncapturable'? Not Demosthenic; nor are the alternatives ἀ]κτητον, δύ]κτητον.

5–6 Cf. *De Cor.* 204, εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες.

6–9 I cannot restore. In 8 Dr. Rea suggests, instead of the obvious *Ἀθηναίων, Ἀθηναίω ἀν[ησαν]: ἑτέρας πόλεις* may follow in 9, but a coherent sense remains difficult to achieve. με]τὰ τοὺς κινδύ[νονς εὐ]θὺς Ἀθηναίω ἀν[ησαν] ἑτέρας πόλεις is surely not tolerable, either in itself or in the context.

9–11 e.g. τ[ί γὰρ] τεῖχος ὑμεῖν ἀ[σφα]λέστερον Ἀπόλλ[ωνος]; 'For what safer wall have you' (or, with ἀ[ν ἀσφα]λέστερον, 'could you have') 'than Apollo?', i.e. than Apollo's, the wall mentioned by the oracle.

I suppose this is preferable to punctuating after ἀσφαλέστερον and continuing Ἀπολ[λον] Πύθιε, which would invert the normal order of Πύθιος Απόλλων.

11–12 δ] Πύθιε, μαρτύρ[ει μοι, or μαρτύρ[ομαι σε. For the apostrophe of Apollo cf. E. G. Turner, *Eos* xlviii (1956), fasc. 2 (*Symbolae R. Taubenschlag dedicatae II*), 143–6, on P. Hamb. 132.

13–14 οὐτος ὁ τειχιμ[ός ο] τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ ἀ[νά]λωτος ἔστιν, ‘this the Pythian’s wall is actually uncapturable’, rather than τειχιμ[ός] τοῦ Πυθίου, ‘this wall is the Pythian’s and uncapturable’?

15 ff. e.g. κα[ὶ οὐ]τω θαρροῦσιν ὑ[μεῖν] ἔξεστι . . . Then neither καταφ[ραγή]γαι nor καταφ[ράσσει]θαι suits the traces at the beginning of 18, but an object would be expected with an active verb such as καταφ[ρονή]γαι (‘your enemies’) or καταφ[υλά]ξαι (‘yourselves’).

What follows is also difficult. The starting point for restoration seems to be 19–21, presumably ἐπιμελ[εῖσθε] καὶ προσεπικ[ευνά]ζετε. ἐπισκευάζειν is especially used of refitting ships; the προσ- compound is rare and late. What precedes? τῶν κα[τὰ] γῆν suggests itself (despite its inappropriateness to προσεπικευνάζετε), but 18 remains a puzzle. In 18, two letters have been tampered with. ὑ was simply crossed out. τ was altered and has a double dot above it: perhaps an attempt was first made to convert it to ο, then the unsatisfactory result cancelled by the dots and a new start made. This will give us ποτε ουδ[. Perhaps take ποτε with what precedes, and go on with something like οὐδ[έν τῶν κα]τὰ γῆν ἐπιμελ[εῖσθε] καὶ προσεπικ[ευνά]ζετε, though we should want this to be imperative, despite οὐδέν not μηδέν: ‘take no thought for affairs on land and refit (the ships) anew.’ Some of the declamations of ps.-Libanius are very lax in the matter of negatives (and cf. on Fr. 1 Col. ii 3–9). But I cannot claim to be happy about this.

21–2 Perhaps ἀναλαμ[βά]νετε ταῦτα ἐπὶ νοῦν, ‘recall these things to mind’, is the amended version.

23 Probably a warning, εἰ δὲ μή.

3237. GLOSSARY TO HOMER, *Iliad* i. 302–23

27 3B.44/K(1–2)a

Fr. 1, 9 × 25.5 cm.

Early third century

One column, a few traces of a previous column, and one unplaced scrap remain of this third-century word list. The reverse is mostly blank with traces of ink in one corner. The hand is a medium-sized sloping style with the angular letter forms characteristic of the third century (cf. Roberts, *GLH* 19a–19c). The only lectional signs are a trema (line 27) and a marginal mark (line 7) probably used to alert the reader that ἐρωησει has been glossed twice. A second hand, smaller and rather faded, has annotated line 13 and added καλλιπαρηγον at the foot of the column.

The text is a familiar type, generally thought to be a product of the schoolroom and known to be related to the *Scholia Minora*. For a discussion of such texts see A. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 2 (1921) 303 ff. and A. Henrichs, ‘Scholia Minora zu Homer I’, *ZPE* 7 (1971) 97–119.

Lemmata and glosses coincide in the main with P. Strassburg inv. Gr. 33 (Pack² 1163) re-edited by A. Henrichs (op. cit. 142–5), cited here as P. Strass. with col. and line number. Other abbreviations used in the commentary are those listed in XXIV 2405 introd.

(323) (m²) καλλι[παρ]ηοῦ καλας [παρ]είας εχουσαν
καλην

35

Fr. 2 (unplaced)

.
].[
]σεε[
]τρε.[
]οδ.[
.

1].[trace of rounded letter

3 At end, trace of upright

4]οδ.[indefinite traces.

Col. i 4 D Pa ἐξ ἐναντίας.

7 So D Pa P. Strass. VII 19.

Col. ii 2 So D Pa. P. Strass. VIII 7 πείρασον.

3 οἶδε, separated from γνῶσι by two oblique strokes, appears to have been added later. οὔτοι supplied from D Pa.

4 So D Pa P. Strass. VIII 10.

5 So Ap D Pa P. Strass. VIII 9.

6-7 The lemma is glossed twice; placed in the left margin against the second gloss there is a sign, a slightly arched horizontal with a downward and backward tick at the right-hand end.

ὑποχωρήσει so Hsch. περιχυθήσεται cf. D περιβόησεται.

8 So D Pa.

9 D Pa ἐναντίοις.

11 So D Pa.

12 So Pa. D ἔλυαν.

13 D Pa P. Strass. VIII 13 ἰσοτόχους.

14 So Pa.

15 So Pa. Ap D P. Strass. VIII 18 καθείλκευεν.

17 So Ap D Pa P. Strass. VIII 16.

18 So D Pa P. Strass. VIII. 17.

19 So Ap D Pa P. Strass. VIII 19.

20 So Ap. D Pa τὴν διὰ θαλάσσης ὁδόν.

21 So D Pa P. Strass. VIII 22-3.

22 D Pa ἐκέλευεν.

23 So Eust. p. 169, 1. 1.

24 So D P. Strass. VIII 27.

25 So Ap D Pa P. Strass. VIII 28.

26 So D Pa.

27 So D.

28 So D Pa P. Strass. IX 1.

29 So Pa.

30 Homer has the dual *θεράποντε*. P. Strass. IX 6 has *θεραπόντας*. However, both this text (line 29) and P. Strass. IX 2 enter the dual form of the modifying adjective *ἄτρηρώ*, probably uncorrupted because of its metrical position.

32 So Pa.

33 So D.

34-5 M² has added *καλλιπάρηον*, apparently overlooked at line 310. The restoration following D on *Il.* i 143 and P. Strass. VIII 20 fits the traces that remain, but is far from secure.

3238. GLOSSARY TO HOMER, *Iliad* i-ii

31 4B.1/M(1-2)a

Fr. 1, 30.7 × 16.8 cm.

Early third century

One considerable fragment and several smaller pieces of a darkish, brittle papyrus-roll remain, which contain a Homeric glossary written on the back of an account. The largest fragment holds four columns of a word list covering *Il.* i 405[?]-538. Although the side and lower margins are broken off, the upper margin for columns 3 and 4 is preserved. A smaller fragment (2.6 × 8.0 cm.) contains the beginnings of words from *Il.* ii 385-93. The hand is the same throughout, a small, sloping 'Severe Style', comparable with VI 852 (Eur. *Hypsipyle*), though smaller, and with P. Ryl. III 529 (medical treatise), characteristically used for space-saving copies of bulky texts. The scribe usually writes iota adscript on verbs (e.g. lines 114 and 119) but not consistently on nouns. There are a number of errors, most of which are uncorrected.

The glosses are more extensive than usual (cf. XXIV 2405, gloss 1) but do not contain material other than that found in the *Scholia Minora*. This glossary coincides in part with P. Ant. II 70 (Pack² 1167), P. Mil. Vogl. III 120 (Pack² 1168), and P. Colon. inv. 2281 (edited by A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 7 (1971) 229-52). All coincidence with these texts is indicated in the notes. Other abbreviations are as given for 3237.

Fr. 1

Col. i

	(?)
	(418)	μεγαροῖς[ι	τιω διο
	(419)	τερπικεραυν[ωι]	τιω τερπο-
5		μεν[ωι τοι]ς	κεραυνοῖς
		εἶστι Δ[ιος ἐ]	πιθετον
	(420)	αγαννιφον	αγαννιφετωδη
		χειμερινον	
	(421)	ωκυποροις	ταχειαις
10	(422)	μη[νιε]	οργιζου
	(422)	παμπαν	παντελως
	(423)	αμμονας	αγαθους
	(424)	δ[αι]τα	ευωχίαν
	(424)	[ε]πονται	ακολουθησουσιν
15	(426)	[χ]αλκοβατες	ισχυρωσ βεβηκος
	7 l.	αγαννιφετωδη	9 l. ωκυποροις

- (426) δω δωμα ο[ι]κημα
 (427) γουνασο[μαι] γουμπετησω
 (429) ευζωνιο καλοζωνου
 (430) απηγρων αφειλαντο
 20 (432) [π]ολυβενθ[ε]ρος βαθειαις
 (434) [ι]στοδοκη τη δεχομενη
 τον ιστον επικλιθεντα
 (433) [ιστια] αρμενα
 (434) [πελα]σαν προσεγγισαι εποι-
 25 ησαν
 (435) [καρπα]λιμωσ ταχεωσ
 (435) [ερετμ]οις [κ]ωπαις
 (434) [προτονοις ο] προτονος εστι
 [το σχοινο]ν απο της του
 30 [ιστου κεφ]αλης ε[[κ]]'ξ'ημ-
 [μενον προ]ς την πρωραν
 (434) [υφεντες ε]πιχαλασαντες
 [.] . . [.]
 (436) [ευνας τας α]γκυρας δια το ε-
 35 [.] αςθαι αυταις
 [την ναυν]
 [.] . α [πο[]]

Col. ii

- (461) διπτυχα .[]
 (461) ωμοθετης[αν]
 40 εστιν[. με-]
 .ρους [[ο]]'ω'μ[.]
 επικα[.]
 εν τω πυρι[.]
 (462) σχιζης σ[]
 45 (462) αιθοπα μ[ε]λανα]

20 l. βαθειαις

41 .ρους, dot of ink, not letter

- (463) λειβε επ[εσπεινδ]ε
 (463) πεμπωβολα τ[ριαιν]οειδεις
 οβελισκοι [εκ μ]ιας
 αρχης πεν[τε ο]βελους
 50 εχοντες
 (464) επασαντο εγ[ευς]αγτ[ο]
 (465) μιστυλλαν δι[εκο]πτρον
 (465) οβελοις οβελισκοις
 (466) περιφραδεως εμπε[ι]ρωσ
 55 (466) ερυσαντο ειλκυσαν
 (468) δαιυνντο ευωχ[ο]υντ[ο]
 (468) εδευετο ενδεης ην
 (468) δαιτος ειειης της εις ισον
 εκα'ετ[[η]]'ω' μεμερισμεν[ης]
 60 μεριδος
 (469) εξ ερον ενεντο [ε]ξεπλ[η-]
 ρωσαν την επιθυμ[ιαν]
 οπερ εστιν επληρω-
 σαν
 65 (470) επεστεψαντο πληρεις εποι-
 ησαν του οι[[κ]]'ν'ου τους κρατη-
 (471) ρας νωμησαν διεδ[ω]καν
 (471) δεπαεσσιν ποτηριοι[ς]
 (472) πανημεριοι δι ολης ημερας
 70 (472) μολπη ωδη[]
 (473) καλον αιιδοντες[]κ[αλως]
 αιιδοντες []
 (473) [παιηονα] πα[ιαν]
 [ωδης] ειδ[ος]

Col. iii

- 75 (480) [πετασς]αν ηπλωσαν
 (481) [πρ]ησε[ν] εφυησεν

52 l. μιστυλλον

58 l. δαιτος ειειης

59 l. εκατω

61 l. εξ ερον εντο

76 l. εφυησεν

- (482) [cτ]ειρ[η η c]τέ'ί'ρα εστι το εξεχον
του κατα την πρω-
 ραν της τροπ[ε]ως ξυλον
 80 δια το στερεον ειναι
 (482) ιαχε εφωνει
 (483) εθειεν ετρεχε
 (483) διαπρησσυσα διαπερωσα
 (485) ηπειροιο τ(ης) γη[c]
 85 (486) υψου εις υψος
 (486) ψαμαθο'ί'c ψαμαθος καλει-
 ται η παραθαλασσιος αμ-
 μος
 (486) τανυσσαν παρετειναν
 90 (487) εκ[κι]δναντο [ε]σκεδαννυτο
 (490) [κυδ]ιαν[ε]ιρα[ν] εν ο η οι ανδρες
 [ευ]δοξ[ου]νται
 (491) φθινυθε[cκε] φθινει
 (492) αυθι τοτε εν εκεινω τω τοπω
 95 η εις εκ[εινον το]ν τροπον
 (492) ποθε[εc]κε [εποθ]ει
 (492) αυτ[ην] [τ]ην μαχην
 (495) εφετμεων εντολων
 (497) ηεριη ορθρινη
 100 (498) ευρυοπα ητοι μεγαλο-
 φθαλμον η μεγαλο-
 φωνον δια τας βροντ(ας)
 (501) [c]καιη αριστεραι
 (501) [α]νθερεωνος [υπο το γε-]
 105 [νε]ιον τοπου δι[α το ε-]
 [κει] πρωτον α[νθειν τας]
 [τρ]ιχας
 (505) [ωκυ]μορωτατο[c]
 (507) [απου]ρας α[]
 110 (508) [μητιε]τα []

77 1. στεира

86 1. ψαμαθοιc

91 1. εν η οι ανδρες

102 βρον^τ

Col. iv

	(518)	[ε]χθοδοπη[ς]αι	εις εχθ[ραν]
	(518)	[ελ]θειν	
	(518)	εφησει[ς]	αναπεισεις
	(519)	ερεθηι[ς]ιν	ερεθιζι
115	(519)	ονειδειοις	ονειδιστικοι[ς]
	(520)	αυτως	ματαιως
	(521)	νεικει	κακολογει
	(522)	αποστιχε	αποτρεχε
	(522)	νοησηι	ιδηι
120	(525)	εμεθεν	εμου
	(526)	τεκμωρ ριον	τελος η τε[κμη-]
	(526)	παλιναγρεπτον πτον	παλλιλη-
125	(526)	απατηλον	απατητικον
	(527)	ατελευτητον	ατελεστον
	(528)	κυανε[η]σιν	μελαιναις
	(529)	αμβροσιαι	θειαι
	(529)	χαιται	κομαι
130	(529)	επερρωσαντο	επεσειθησαν
	(532)	αλτο ηλατο λαμπρου	α'ι'γληεντος
	(533)	εον	το εαυτου
	(534)	εδεων	καθεδρων
135	(534)	σφου	του [[εα]]σ αυτου
	(534)	ετλη	[υ]πεμ[ει]νε
	(537)	συμφρα[ςς]ατο	[συν]εβουλευσατο
	(538)	αργυροπεζα .[...]. . . . η	

Fr. 2

		]ωσπ . . καικ[	] . πεζα[
140		]νος ε . . [	] . . . της[
		] . ει . [	] ε . . [
] . . [
		

123 l. παλιναγρετον

130 l. επεσειθησαν

131 l. αιγληεντος

Fr. 3

	Col. i	<i>Iliad</i> ii 385-93	Col. ii

	].	κρ[ινωμεθα	(385)
↓	]και	πα[υρωλη	(386)
	]..	ηβ[αιον	(386)
	]μεν	τελ[αμων	(388)
	]. 5	αε[πιδος	(389)
	].	αμ[φιβροτης	(389)
		<i>Gap of 4 lines</i>	
	]. 11	.[
		κα[μειται	(389)
		ευξ[οον	(390)
		τιτα[ινων	(390)
		.[
	]. 15	μιμ[ναζειν	(392)
	].	αρκ[ιον	(393)

Col. i Traces of the glosses are too broken to permit restoration.

Fr. 4 (unplaced)

] τ.[
]κα.[

Fr. 1 Col. i

Lines 1 and 38 already stand a line or more higher than 75 and 111, which are shown by the margin to be the first of their columns. It is therefore unlikely that many lines, if any, stood above 1 and 38.

1 The letters that remain suggest *Κρονίωμι* glossed *Κρόνου νίψ, Διί. Κρονίωμι* occurs at 397 and 405; since nothing in the intervening lines seems remotely to suggest this gloss, it is probably only out of order.

2 So D Pa. τωι διο seems to have been added to the right of another entry (cf. line 67).

3 D Pa gloss οἴκοις: here οἴκοι]ς would fit space and trace.

4-5 Sim. D Pa. The supplements in 5-6 are dubious in that both lacunas give space for 8-10 letters. A longer supplement could be constructed for 6, but I do not see how to expand 5, given the parallels. Perhaps the papyrus surface was damaged before writing.

7-8 D τὸν λίαν νιφόμενον κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῖς νέφεσι μέρη.

9 D ταχέως πλεούσαις; Pa ταχυπλόις.

- 10 So D Pa.
 11 So D Pa.
 12 So Ap D Pa.
 13 So D Pa.
 14 End of the lemma is *-ονται*, dubiously restored to *ἔπονται*, the reading preferred by Aristarchus to *ἔποντο*, because (1) *-ονται* is clear (2) the space will permit only 2–3 letters before this and (3) a form of *ἀκολουθέω* is the usual gloss for *ἔποντο*. D *ἠκολούθησαν*; Pa *ἠκολούθουν*.
 15 So D.
 16 Ap D *δῶμα*; Pa *οἴκημα*.
 17 So D.
 18 D *καλῶς καὶ εὐστόλου*; Pa *εὐστολίτου*. *καλοζωνου* is unattested but not an unlikely formation (*καλλι-* in Homer). Cf. LSJ for other *καλο-* compounds.
 19 *ἀφείλαντο*: for the assimilation of strong aorists to the sigmatic forms cf. J. H. Moulton, *Grammar of the Greek New Testament* ii 214 ff.
 20 Cf. D Pa.
 21–2 Cf. Schol. A *τὸ κατὰ τὴν πρύμναν ἐξέχον ξύλον καθ' οὗ κλίνεται ὁ ἴστος*.
 23 So D Pa.
 24–5 D *πελασθῆναι ἐποίησαν*.
 26 So D Pa.
 27 So Pa.
 28–31 Cf. Schol. BT *τὰ ἀπὸ πρύμνης εἰς πρῶραν διήκοντα χροῖνια*.
 32 Traces before *χαλασαντες* fit]*πι*. Perhaps a compound *ἐπιχαλάσαντες*? D Pa *χαλάσαντες*. Cf. lines 46 and 96.
 33 Too damaged to restore securely.
 34–6 A variant of D *παρὰ τὸ εὐνάζειν τὴν ναῦν . . . καὶ ποιεῖν ἴσταςθαι*? Spacing seems to demand that *ε-* (line 34) and]*ασθαι* (line 35) be part of the same word and the large space after the break in line 36 would seem to indicate that the gloss is complete. It is possible to restore, e.g. *ε/ξασ]ασθαι* or *ε/φιστ]ασθαι*, but neither is appropriate with *αὐταῖς*, which should require a passive verb. *τὴν ναῦν* is the likeliest supplement for line 36.
 37 Perhaps *πρυμνης]ια [α]πο[γεια | χροῖνία* (so D Pa).
- Col. ii 38 Only an ink dot remains of the gloss. Ap *δύο*; D *διπλώσαντες*; Pa *διπλοῦν*.
 39–43 From the remaining letters, the gloss appears to be a variant of Hsch: *τὸ ἀφ' ἐκάστου μέρους τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου ἱερείου ἀφαιρεῖν ἔτι ὠμοῦ ὄντος, καὶ ἐπιτιθέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν*.
 44 Only traces of sigma remain. D *ἐπὶ χυδῶν*; Pa *χυδαξιν*.
 45 *μέλανα* restored with D Pa.
 46 While the traces do not exclude *σπένδε* (so Ap), the space requires a longer word. *ἐπέσπενδε* restored with D Pa.
 47–50 Sim. Ap *πέντε ὀβελίσκοι τριαινοειδεῖς ἐκ μιᾶς ἀρχῆς*.
 51 The traces fit *ἐγεύσαντο*. So D Pa P. Ant. II 70. 2.
 52 So Ap. D Pa *διέκοψαν*.
 53 So D P. Ant. II 70. 5.
 54 D Pa *πάνν ἐμπείρωσ*. P. Ant. II 70. 8 *ἐμπείρωσ*.
 55 So D Pa.
 56 So Pa.
 57 So D Pa.
 58–60 Sim. Hsch *τῆς ἐξ ἴσου μεριζομένης εὐωχιάς*.
 61–4 *ενεντο* by dittography. Pa *ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν*.
 65–6 Sim. Ap *πλήρεις ἐποίησαν*.
 67 So D.
 68 So D Pa.
 69 So Ap D Pa.
 70 So Pa.
 71–2 So D Pa.

73-4 *παιήονα*? Nothing of the lemma remains; the gloss begins with pi and beneath it]εἰδ[. The reconstruction is suggested by D *παιάν, ὠδῆς εἶδος*.

Col. iii 75 So D.

76 So Ap D Pa.

77-80 Cf. Schol. on *Odyssey* ii 428 (*στείρη*): *τῆ τροπίδι διὰ τὸ στερεὸν εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ στεροῦσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν ναῦν*. Also D: *τῆ τροπίδι τῆς νεώς, ἐπεὶ στερεωτέρα τῶν κανίδων ὑπάρχει· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῷ ξύλῳ τούτῳ ὡςπερ ἐπὶ θεμελίῳ τινὶ ἐποικοδομεῖται τὰ ἄλλα ξύλα τῆς νεώς*. At the beginning of line 78 there are traces of 5 letters (possibly *ξύλον*) then a clear *του*. The rest of the gloss (*κατὰ . . . εἶναι*) is coherent without this, but it does not appear to be a later addition. *τρόπεως* restored in line 79, because it fits the traces and the more common genitive *τρόπιδος* does not. The sense as well as the parallels indicate that the word is appropriate.

81 D *μεγάλως ἤχει*.

82 So Ap D Pa.

83 So D Pa P. Ant. II 70. 19.

84 So Pa P. Ant. II 70. 21.

85 D Pa P. Ant. II 70. 22 *ἐφ' ὕψους*.

86-8 Cf. Ap *ἡ παραθαλάσσιος ἄμμος*.

89 Pa *ἐνέτειναν*.

90 So D.

91-2 D *ἐνδόξους ἄνδρας ἔχουσιν*. The scribe placed a dot above omicron to indicate that it was written in error.

93 D Pa *διέφθειρεν*. Apparently]φθινει, not ε]φθινεν.

94-5 Ap *ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ*; cf. D Pa *αὐτόθι*.

96 D *ἐπέποθει*; Pa *ἔποθει*. Only the -ει remains, but space available favours the shorter word.

97 So Ap Pa.

98 So Ap D Pa.

99 So D Pa.

100-2 Sim. D: *ἦτοι μεγαλόφθαλμον, παρὰ τοὺς ὄπας, ἢ μεγαλόφωνον, παρὰ τὴν ὄπα, ὃ ἔστι τὴν φωνήν. διὰ τὰς βροντ(άς)* read by M. E. Weinstein.

103 So Ap D Pa.

104-7 Sim. Ap *ὑπὸ τὸ γένειον τόπου ἀφ' οὗ ἀρχεται ἀνθεῖν*. D *τοῦ ὑπὸ τὸ γένειον τόπου. παρὰ τὴν ἐξάνθησιν τῶν τριχῶν*.

108 D *ταχυθανάτου*; Pa *ταχυθανατώτατος*.

109 Ap *ἀφορίσας*; D *ἀφελόμενος*; Pa *ἀφελών*.

Col. iv 111-12 *ἐλθεῖν*? Traces fit this better than the other possibilities, e.g. D *ἐχθρὸν καταστήναι*.

113 Cf. D Pa.

114 D *ἐρεθίζει*.

115 So D Pa.

116 So D Pa.

117 So D.

118 Cf. D.

119 D Pa *θεάσεται*. The iota adscript of the gloss has a horizontal line placed over it. I have been unable to find any parallel or to suggest a plausible explanation for its being so marked. Possibly the line was intended as a *trema*, though I can produce no closer example of misuse than *αινεῖαι* (dative), P. Bodm. I *ll.* 5. 450.

120 So D Pa P. Mil. Vogl. III 120. 1.

121-2 So D. Ap P. Colon. inv. 2281 iii 17 *τέλος* only.

123-4 So Ap. Cf. D Pa.

125 So D Pa.

126 So Pa P. Colon. inv. 2281 iii 20.

127 So D Pa P. Colon. inv. 2281 iii 22.

128 So D P. Colon. inv. 2281 iii 23.

129 Ap *αἱ κεχυμέναί κόμαι*; D P. Colon. inv. 2281 iii 24 *τρίχες*.

- 130 So D Pa.
 131 So Hsch; D καθήλατο.
 132 So D Pa P. Colon. inv. 2281 iv 3.
 133 D πρόσ τὸ ἴδιον.
 134 So D Pa P. Colon. inv. 2281 iv 4.
 135 D Pa ἴδιον.
 136 So D.
 137 So D Pa.

138-42 ἀργυρόπεζα has occasioned a lengthy gloss, too little of which remains for certain restoration. See the material collected in *ZPE* 7 (1971) 243. Line 139 might be]ωσπερ και κ[. Line 140 -νoc suggests a restoration like P. Colon. inv. 2281 iv. 8-11 (*ZPE* l.c.) οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πέζης τοῦ χιτῶνος. Fragment 2 seems to belong to this gloss because of the clearly readable].πεζα[. Lines 141-2 may be part of new entries, but too little remains to be certain.

3239. ALPHABETIC 'GLOSSARY'

33 4B.79/D(1-3)

13.8 × 13.1 cm.

Later second century

This puzzling fragment, originally complete in three columns, comprises an alphabetical list of words with what, for lack of a better term, must be called definitions. The small number of lemmata, fifty-three, including line 27, combined with the arrangement, as well as the contents themselves present problems which thus far have failed of solution. 3239 is probably not a glossary to a particular poem, unless that poem were alphabetically arranged or exceedingly repetitive, because the arrangement would have been inconvenient and also because that explanation does not take into account the peculiar 'place-holding' nu in line 27. Nor does it seem based on an acrostic principle, as there is often more than one entry for each letter. It is far too short for a lexicon. Nor does it appear to have been a school exercise, both on the basis of the writing (see below) and also because of the lack of corrections in a second, i.e. teacher's, hand, although the sometimes rather fanciful definitions might possibly be the work of an unprepared scholar.

Alphabetical lists of words do occur in school exercises in syllabification, cf. Pack² 2676 = O. Tait II 2193 or in lists of particular kinds of words, e.g. words in -ουc, cf. Pack² 2718 = J. G. Milne *JHS* XXVIII (1908) p. 124 iv. Pack² 2654 = P. Tebt. II 278 has an alphabetical list of occupations followed by an acrostic story, both of which may have been used as a way of teaching the alphabet. In both Pack² 2718 and 2654 there is only one entry per letter of the alphabet. Alphabetical glossaries are also found in Pack² 2119-28. The definitions given in them are usually more common words synonymous with the lemmata, possibly with an explanation of the derivation and sometimes with examples of usage from various authors. Obviously the relation between 3239 and any of these is tenuous, first because of the shortness of the list, second and more important because of the strangeness of the 'definitions' given, for example mouse defined as 'vainglorious' (26), bathing attendant as 'rotten fate' (34). All the surviving lemmata, so far as can be seen, are substantives. Beyond that there seems to be no connection between them. The index to *PMG* yields no connection with magical texts, which goes

against the assumption that 3239 interprets religious or oracular symbols; nor is there any relation with the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollon. Some entries might be taken as 'kennings' or riddles: Tryph. π. τρ. 4 (Spengel, *Rh. Gr.* iii 195) κατὰ δὲ γλῶτταν (sc. γίνεται αἴνιγμα), ὅταν τὴν μὲν θάλατταν εὐρυγάρστορα λέγῃ, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναίαν μαρμαρῶπιν, τὸν δὲ μῦν δολιχοῦρον (with the last cf. 3239 26). But I have found no real parallels in the list of W. Schultz, *Rätsel aus dem hellenischen Kulturkreise* ii (1912) 135-46; and some items are clearly unsuitable.

From the papyrus itself one must conclude that the main motivation of the author was, somehow, alphabetical, cf. the nu in line 27; and it seems very likely that the lemmata were written, in each column at least, before the definitions, cf. in col. i the mistaken placing and erasure of what appears to have been *αρουρα* after line 6, in col. ii the spacing of the blank second half of line 27 and possibly the mistake caused by the two-line entry at lines 31 and 32.

The papyrus is written on the backs of two documents, *A* having col. i and most of col. ii, *B* having the rest. *A* and *B* are pasted together upside down relative to each other and the edge of *A* overlaps the first three letters of *B*. Neither is dated, although the writing is of the first century. *B* appears to be an account involving grain, *A* is very scrappy and indistinct. There is a washed-out heading at the top of *B* and the spacing suggests that its full height is preserved. The consequence of this is that at several places in 3229 large vertical fibres and the pasting have interfered with the writing.

The left-hand half of col. i, and the right-hand two-thirds of col. iii, have been torn away. But the full original height seems to be preserved.

The clumsy upright hand begins with some attempt at literary style, but becomes smaller and more cursive as the text proceeds. Beta (open-topped) and eta (y-shaped) almost always have the cursive form. It is of the class in which hypomnemata are written and should perhaps be assigned to the later second century.

Col. i

↓

]πικρονκακον
]αιειοινος
]. ιλαραγεωργια
]. . φιλ[ε]πατροκλον
 5] κνηγηκονηγημα
]κυλιας ανθος
]τονος
]αρουρ α
]πολεμονποιει
 10]λεσχη
]ηδονηθεων
]χαρμ αμεθης
]πεταμενοςθεος
]παραγων
 15]οϋιοςαναξ
]μημερια
]εβεια
]. ηπιστικ
]
 20].

Col. i 3]. high and low ink, as if from vertical
 6 Below are traces of washed out letters, αρουρα?
 very smudged, after ω traces probably because the scribe was thwarted by the large fibre and had to begin the nu again
 16 for μη λα, αλ, or χη can be read, the first two if written rather small
 18]. three small traces on two fibres consistent with an oblique sloping down to right followed immediately by an upright alpha or mu?
 4]. . high traces in paler ink, ος possible
 7]τ possibly pi but not gamma
 11 θ

Col. i

-] πικρὸν κακόν
] αἰεὶ οἶνος
]. ἰλαρὰ γεωργία
]. φιλεῖ Πάτροκλον
 5] κυνηγικὸν ἦγημα
] κυλίας ἄνθος
] τρονος
] ἄρουρα
] πόλεμον ποιεῖ
 10] λέσχη
] ἡδονὴ θεῶν
] χάρμα μέθης
 ὁ] πετάμενος θεός
] παράγων
 15] ὁ υἱὸς ἀναξ
] μῆμερια
] εβεια
]. ἠ πίστις
]
 20].

Col. ii

	ιις	ημεγαλη[.]λπικ
	κων	ιταμο σπει.ατ...
	κα[λ]αθος	εισερια
	λυχνος	τοδεξιονφεγγ'ο'
25	μολιβος	μεγα βαρος
	μυς	περπ ερος
	ν	
	ξυςτρα	ελαδι ουςπανικ
	οι[.].ε.ι	ηδονη[.]ειν
30	οι[κο]δομος	παραβολ[.]
	οσαραπικ	αλεξανδρειαν
		κοσμει
	οι[ο]ς	οξος
	παραχυτης	σαπρατυχη
35	ρητωρ	ερ[κ]γομωρος
	ραβδ ος	οδηγ οσαγαθη
	ρωμ η	ξειν ηπ ολις
	σιμν[.]ς	σεμι δαλις
	συναγορος	περπε ρονστομα
40	σιμι .ις	οκαλοσαηρ
	στεφανος	εκαστ ω
	τυχη	ονανθεληπλουσι'ο'
	υδρο [.] .ος	δευρε ζω πο .ει
	υδρο [.]φορος	δυψω
45	υπηρ ετης	αντι κυριος

Col. ii 22 ι, nu or rho After τ an upright (blotted at middle height, corrected?) 26 υς corrected from η? 27 The gap between 26 and 28 is only slightly larger than between 25 and 26 or 28 and 29 40 .ις two tiny traces a mid-height on edge 43 ζω fibre interferes with ω which is not very clear and may be another letter πο.ει: either πορει or πορει (there are no traces of the upper loop of rho, but the lower loop is like rho in σαπρα line 34)

Col. ii

	Ἰαις	ἡ μεγάλη [ἐ]λπὶς
	κύων	ἰταμὸς πειρατής
	κά[λ]αθος	εἰς ἔρια
	λύχνος	τὸ δεξιὸν φέγγος(ς)
25	μόλιβος	μέγα βάρος
	μῦς	πέρπερος
	ν	
	ξύστρα	ἐλαδίου σπάνις
	οἱ [. .] . ε . ι	ἡδονη[.] εἶν
30	οἰ[κο]δόμος	παραβολ[. .]
	ὁ Καρᾶπις	Ἀλεξανδρείαν
		κοσμεῖ
	οἶνος	ὄξος
	παραχύτης	σαπρὰ τύχη
35	ρήτωρ	ἐργόμωρος
	ράβδος	ὁδηγὸς ἀγαθή
	Ῥώμη	ξείνη πόλις
	σιμν[ι]ς	σεμίδαλις
	συνάγορος	πέρπερον στόμα
40	σιμ . ις	ὁ καλὸς ἀήρ
	στέφανος	ἐκάστῳ
	τύχη	ὄν ἂν θέλη πλούσιος(ν)
	ὑδρο[. .] . ος	δευρεζω ποιεῖ
	ὑδροφόρος	διψῶ
45	ὑπηρέτης	ἀντικύριος

Col. iii

υς [δς]
 φ...ς[
 φορμ[
 χα..[
 50 χαρω[
 χαρω[
 χιμ.[
 ψι[
 ωρος[

Col. iii 52 χ is very faint, possibly another letter between it and ι 53 ψ very faint, possibly
 space for a small letter between it and ι 54 ω corrected from ο?

Col. i In 5 the 'definition' is certainly complete, for blank papyrus precedes; so probably in 11 and 12. Starting from this alignment, and allowing for limited irregularities of margin as in col. ii, we may assume that 1-4 also are complete, and that 6-10 may (but need not) lack one or two letters at the beginning.

1 ἀνάγκη]?

2 If αἰεῖ is right, it must be adjectival; the obvious lemma is then ἀμβροσία (as the wine of the gods, already in Sappho 141 L-P). But if the line began unusually far to the left, we could try κ]αἰεῖ, etc.

3 Perhaps ἡ ἰλαρά, unless the first trace is stray ink.

4 Ἀχιλλεύς]. Before φιλεῖ perhaps]δς.

5 κυνηγικόν has a clear meaning, though the word is rare (τόποι P. Grenf. II 71 i 15; χώρα? Evagr. HE 3. 32). ἡγήμα is quoted in the sense 'that which guides' from Inscr. Perg. p. 246. 27, in the sense 'thought, purpose' from LXX Ez. 17. 3 (hence in Photius, etc., see Stephanus s.v.). If the meaning here is 'that which leads in hunting', ἄρτεμς would be a suitable lemma.

6 An extremely puzzling definition. A spelling error must be assumed. Two possible readings are κοιλίας ἄνθος poetic and unexampled, but perhaps suitable for αἰδοῖα, or c]κυλείας ἄνθος with ἀσπίς.

7 If τόνος, perhaps ἀρμονία]?

9 Ἄρης?

10 λέεχη is the only possible reading. Perhaps the lemma was βουλευτήριον.

11 Γανυμήδης]?

12 Διόνυκος]?

13 Ἔρωσ].

15 Strangely expressed definition. Ζεύς fits the alphabetic scheme.

16 θερ]μημερία would fit the traces, but occurs usually in the plural, cf. LSJ s.v. Possibly the lemma is ἥλιος vel sim.

17 -ς]έβεια.

18 The traces might allow ἡ κ]αλή πίεσις. Cf. 21.

21 This title does not occur in the magical papyri or the Isiac aretologies. The closest is PMG XXIV a 1 μεγάλη Ἱσις ἡ κυρία.

22 For the connection of κύων with ἰταμός cf. Aeschylus fr. 282N. I print πειρατίς as a misspelling of πειρατής; but it is possible that the scribe corrected τις to της. πειρᾶ τις might also be read, but suits ἰταμός less well.

24 δεξιόν: well-omened? favourable to lovers or travellers?

26 The connection is less clear than usual here: possibly a reference to the *Batrachomyomachia* (there are no braggart mice in Aesop). *πέρπερος* and its compounds are well attested in the literary Greek of the Hellenistic and Roman epochs, see *LSJ* and especially Lampe, *PGL* s.v.

29 οι[. .].ε,ι: the lacuna may hold one or two letters; then traces of a descender followed by a high trace; then the beginning of epsilon. After epsilon: alpha, lambda or possibly gamma. Dr. Rea suggests οί[νό]μελι ήδονή [π]εῖν: this is very attractive, though]μ is not the most obvious reading of the traces.

30 παραβολ[]: the space allows παραβολ[ή, -[ον, -[οc. I see no obvious sense. It is tempting to write παραβολ[ή, and refer to the image of the man who built his house on a rock, NT Matt. 7. 24. But we might not expect an allusion to a Christian parable so early.

31 ὁ Καρᾶπις: no other entry has the article. Possibly he intended Ὁκαρᾶπις as a by-form of Ὁεράπις and Ὁσορᾶπις.

34 καπρὰ τύχη: cf. PMG XIII 635 τήν καπρὰν εἰμαρμένην. In a literal sense, some parachytae had a degraded lot in life, see Cumont, *L'Égypte des Astrologues*, 141 f. But notice also that καπρὰ τύχη is an anagram of παραχύτης.

35 ἐρ[κ]γόμενος: the scribe apparently wrote ερκο and corrected it to εργο; there is also stray ink round the rho, but not enough to prove that it was corrected. The word intended must be ἐργόμενος, which is glossed *adulator, ambitiosus, ancillarius, ancillula, assentator, fuco, stlarius* (Goetz, *CGL* vii 527, with derivatives; cf. Hsch. E 5668 ἐργομωκῶν ἐμπαίζων).

36 The walking-stick of the blind or old? (For ῥάβδος as the equivalent of βακτήριον, see NT Matt. 10. 10, etc.)

37 Cf. ξένων πόλις of Alexandria in the *Oracle of the Potter*, *ZPE* 2 (1968) 206, line 30.

38 S. Stephens suggests cíμν[ι]c = *seminis*. But the connection is obscure, and the case (genitive or mistaken plural) is strange.

39 συνάγορος: the Doric form is the only one which fits the traces.

40 M. W. Haslam has suggested Cίμιλις ὁ καλὸς ἀ<ν>ήρ (Ser. Sulpicius Similis, Prefect of Egypt 107–12). If this were correct, it would provide a lower limit for dating the text.

41 ἐκάστῳ is an exceptionally odd definition. There might be doubts about the reading: sigma could be omicron; the descender of tau is very thick (corrected); omega is widely separated from tau (but the scribe may have left a space to avoid thick fibres, as at the same point in 36–9 though not in 40). It is just possible that a narrow letter originally stood before epsilon, if the single point of ink is significant. But I have found no other satisfactory reconstruction; ἐραστῶ(ν) can be excluded, since kappa is virtually certain.

42–3 ποιεῖ is written slightly higher than the preceding words. I assume therefore that it carries over from 42.

43 ὕδρο[] . . . οc: before οc, what looks at first sight like the loop and part of the descender of rho. But if so, the descender ends short with an uncharacteristic curl to the right. Other possibilities are no more attractive: theta (malformed), beta (but elsewhere the scribe uses an open-topped form). Perhaps the letter has been corrected. The word as written was one letter shorter than ὕδροφόρος in 44; and the 'definition' was apparently δεῦρ' ἔσω.

45 ἀντικύριος is new, but cf. ἀντιβασιλεύς, etc. Better so than Ἀντικύριος or ἀντὶ <τοῦ> κύριος (which would produce a 'definition' much more explicit than any of the others).

47 Perhaps φ . . . ις[]; φύεις not suggested.

48 φόρμιγξ, φορμός, etc.

49 χα . . . []: the first traces look very like nu or pi. No attested word or name begins χαπ. Even for χαπ- the possibilities are few: χάννα? Χαναάν (cf. on 30)?

50 Χάρων?

52 χίμα[ι]ρα (cf. 46)? But perhaps χι.μ.[] should be read.

54 Ὄρος (cf. 21, 31)? ὠρος[κόπος]?

IV. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

3240. OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

34 4B.78/D(10-12)b

16.1 × 13.2 cm.

c. 88/9

A warped fragment of the bottom of a column containing copies of two or three letters, the last one of which at least is official. It is not clear if this fragment belongs to a roll or is a single sheet of copies of letters pertaining to one dispute, see 2 n. Parts of the left and bottom margins, 3.6 and 2.0 cm. respectively, survive, but the full width of the left margin is not preserved. The back is blank.

The subject of the lower portion of the column is a boundary dispute of some duration, the history of which goes back at least as far as the term of Flavius Heracleides, predecessor of Junius Hestiaeus as strategus, and conceivably continued for forty years after this letter, see 14-16 n. Junius Hestiaeus is a new strategus and the period available for Flavius Heracleides is narrowed by this papyrus. The prefects C. Septimius Vegetus and M. Mettius Rufus gave instructions in the case.

→	c. 17	]ει..[	c. 18
	c. 16	] Φλαουίω[ι	c. 15
	c. 16	]ηγησας.[..].[	c. 12
	c. 14	].εγενο.[..].ωεν[	c. 7
5	...[c. 13	]ητου δια ἀφορισμοῦ κατὰ τ[ὰς	
		ἀσφ[αλείας. (ἔτους) . Α]ὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομιτιαν[οῦ	
		Σεβαστοῦ Γερ[μανικοῦ, Φαμ]ενῶθ ιγ̄. (vac.)	
		ἄλλης. Μέττιος Ῥοῦφος Ἴουνίω Ἐστιαίω στρ(ατηγῶ) Ὁξυρ(υγχίτου) χ(αίρειν).	
		Διονύσιος Διονυσίου δια ἀναφο(ρίου) μοι ἐνέτυχε λέγων	
10		γε]γραφέναι Οὐέγετον τὸν κράτιστον Φλαουίω Ἴερ[α-	
		κλείδ]ηι τῶι πρὸ σοῦ στρατηγῆ[σα]ντι περὶ ἀρουρῶν αὐ-	
		τοῦ τῶν] ἡρπασμένων ὑπὸ τ[ῶν] γιτόνων ἴν' αὐτῶι κα-	
		τὰ τὰ]ς ἀσφαλείας ἀφορι[σθῶ]σιν, ἄχρι δὲ τούτου μηδὲν	
		πεποι]ῆσθαι. βούλομαι [οὖν c]έ, εἰ μηδὲν περὶ τοῦ πρά-	
15		γματος ἐπο]ιήθη[ι], [..] γεν[όμενον] ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐκάστ(ω)	
		τὸ ἴδιον ἔδα]φος ἀπο[καταστ]ῆσαι. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) η''	
		Αὐτοκράτορο]ς Καίσαρος [Δομιτιανο]ῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ	
	c. 20	].[ c. 10]	(vac.)
	8 στρ ^λ οξυρ ^ν χ ^λ	9 αναφ ^ο	12 1. γειτόνων 15 εκασ ^τ

5 ff. '... through a determination of boundaries according to the title deeds. Year *n* of Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, Phamenoth 13(?).

'(Copy) of another. Mettius Rufus to Junius Hestiaeus strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greetings. Dionysius son of Dionysius applied to me in a petition stating that Vegetus, *vir egregius*, wrote to Flavius Heracleides who was strategus before you concerning the arouras of his which were stolen by the neighbours in order that the boundaries might be determined for him according to the title deeds, but nothing has been done yet. I desire you, if nothing has been done about the matter, to go to the locality and restore to each his own land. Farewell. Year 8 of Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus . . .'

2 Φλαουίω[ι. Restore perhaps 'Ηρακλείδῃ again, cf. 10-11. Possibly this is the first line of the letter of Vegetus mentioned in 10. There is just room for *Ἐπιτίμιος Οὐέγετος* at the beginning of the line, but not for *ἄλλης* or *ἀντί(γραφον)*. Alternatively there is room for *ἄλλης. Μέττιος 'Ροῦφος*. In either case the letter would be extremely short. The traces of l. 1 are extremely small and faint, but could possibly be read as]σεβᾶ[, i.e. as part of the titlature closing a preceding letter.

6 For *ἀσφάλεια* meaning title deeds see R. Taubenschlag, *Law*², 275.

8 The earliest definite date for Mettius Rufus is 3 August A.D. 89, though he may have taken office in the spring of A.D. 89, see *BASP* 4 (1967) 89 and *ZPE* 17 (1975) 277. The date in 7, if it really were Phamenoth 13 = 9 March A.D. 89, would not exclude the possibility that Mettius Rufus was the writer of the letter.

Junius Hestiaeus is a previously unknown strategus in office sometime in A.D. 88/9, see 16-17.

10 The earliest known date for Vegetus, prefect of Egypt, is 8 February A.D. 85, the latest 26 February A.D. 88, see *BASP* 4 (1967) 89 and *ZPE* 17 (1975) 277.

Flavius Heracleides is known from PSI XII 1235. 2 as strategus some time between A.D. 80 and 90, but not in 83. This document indicates that he must have been in office after 83 some time in the prefecture of Vegetus and before the date of this letter.

12 For encroachment by neighbours cf. BGU II 616, P. Petaus 24.

13 ἀφορι[σθῶ]ςιν. Cf. P. Flor. III 319. 9.

14-16 For the restorations cf. BGU II 616. 5 ff. ἀξιῶ ἐ[π]ιστα[γ]ῆναι [τῶ τ]ῆ[σ] κώμης κωμογρ(αμματεῖ) γενέσθαι[ι] ἐπὶ τοῦ[σ] τόπους ἐν τῷ ὀριοδικ(τῆ) καὶ ἀναμετρήσαι [τ]ῆν πᾶσα<ν> γῆν καὶ ἐκάστω τὸ ἴδιο[ν] ἀπ[ο]καταστήσει (l. -στῆσαι). This is a request possibly similar to one Dionysius may have written to Vegetus. In it, in P. Petaus 24, and in P. Flor. 319 of c. A.D. 133-7, which may possibly be connected with our document as the petitioner is 'son of Dionysius', the writers assume that the village scribe is in charge of the examination. There is no sign of him in our document.

3241. NOTIFICATIONS TO TAX-FARMERS

5 1B.59/H(i)

14 × 14 cm.

11 February A.D. 163

Two adjacent documents from a *τόμος συγκολλήσιμος*, both addressed to a pair of contractors for the *ἐγκύκλιον*, the tax on transfers of property. The first is a statement of payment of the charges due on the manumission of a female slave, the second, written by the same man on the same day, appears to concern the same transaction and refers to a public registration at Alexandria.

In manumissions three payments are to be distinguished: the ransom price, or *λύτρα*, paid to the slave's owner; the tax due upon the transaction, the *ἐγκύκλιον*; and a separate charge of 10 dr. (The suggestion made at XXXVIII 2843, that the 10 dr. are the tax itself, is to be rejected.) The first of the present documents records the payment of the last two of these, and the 10 dr. charge now has a name, the *πρ]ο-πρατικόν*. The purpose served by this first letter, virtually complete, is something of a puzzle. It is not an acknowledgement of payment by the recipients, but a statement

of payment by the payer, and since it incorporates acknowledgement of a receipt (9–10 ὧν [καὶ εὐ]μβολὸν ἔσχον), it was clearly not intended to serve as a receipt itself (by being countersigned by the taxmen). A precise parallel for the form of the letter is found in I 61, a statement made by an Oxyrhynchite ex-strategus of the Arsinoite nome to public bankers at Oxyrhynchus of the payment of a fine he had incurred by his failure to produce official papers when required. That letter, however, does not provide an immediate solution to the problem. (The revised readings of E. G. Turner in *JEA* 38 (1952) 88 n. 6, do not affect the basic form. Expand to εὐμβολ(ον) in 19.) In 3241 a possible explanation is that the money had been paid directly into the state bank, instead of passing through the hands of the tax farmers (cf. I 96, where a tax official pays the ἐγκύκλιον on the sale of a slave into the bank; cf. P. Fay. 64, P. Osl. III 116). It would be a reasonable, perhaps obligatory, course of action to notify the circumvented taxmen, the nominal payees. A comparable explanation is available for 61, if the fine had been paid into a bank in the Hermopolite, where the man was currently strategus.

The matter might be more intelligible if the second of the present letters had survived intact. As it is, the significance of the publication through the *katalogeion* at Alexandria is not at all clear. It may refer to the δημοσίωσις of the manumission at Alexandria. If the current view of the identity of the senders of I 48, 49 and II 349 is correct (see XXXVIII 2856 2 n.), it was the duty of the ἐγκύκλιον farmers, at any rate at the end of the first century, to notify the local agoranomus of the details of the manumission and authorize him to proceed with the registration. There would be no need for this to be done if the deed had already been entered at Alexandria. (Cf. IX 1200, where a request is made to the archidicastes to inform the Oxyrhynchite record office of the registration of a deed of sale through the *katalogeion*.) In view of the identity of the addressees, it seems less likely that the registration in question is that of a deed certifying the legal title to the slave, and hence with the man's right to dispose of her (cf. I 73, where an agreement registered through the *katalogeion* is mentioned in connection with a registration of a slave before agoranomi).

Above the first column are some scribblings in two different hands, apparently unrelated to the main text. The most legible of them read:]ρκαιοκαιμουι() | περιτωνενν | κυμτ...ωιγον[περι]]...των.

On the back, not transcribed here, is what appears to be a prose encomium on the *aulos*.

Col. i

- Θεα...] Ζαραπίωνος ἀπὸ Ὀξυρύγχων [πόλ(εως)
 δι]ὰ Καραπίωνος Ἀπολλωνίου φροντι[στοῦ
 Αὐρ]ηλίω Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ Ἡρακλείδῃ ἐνκυ[κλι-
 ών]αις χαίρειν. Διέγραψα ὑμείν ὑπὲρ Πρ[
 5 ...]ης δούλης ἐλευθερωθείσης ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ

τῆ]ς ἐλευθερώσεως αὐτῆς ἐνκυκλιακὸν
 . . . υς ὃν ἐν δραχ(μαῖς) πεντήκοντα δύο, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) νβ,
 καὶ πρ]οπρατικοῦ δραχ(μας) δέκα, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ι, γείνονται
 ἐπὶ] τὸ αὐτὸ δραχ(μαὶ) ἐξήκοντα δύο, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ξβ, ὧν
 10 καὶ ε]ύμβολον ἔσχον. Σαραπίων Ἀπολλω-
 νίου ὁ] προγεγραμμένος φροντιστῆς αὐτὸς
 τὸ γράμ]μα ἔγραψα. Ἔτους τρίτου Αὐτοκράτορος
 Καίσαρος] Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ
 καὶ Αὐτο]κράτορος Καίσαρος Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου
 15 Οὐήρ]ου Σεβαστοῦ, Μεχεῖρ ιζ̄.

Col. ii

Θεα . . . Σαραπ[ίωνος ἀπὸ Ὀξυρύγχων πόλ(εως)
 διὰ Σαραπίων[ος Ἀπολλωνίου φροντιστοῦ
 Αὐρηλίω Αντ[ιόχῳ καὶ Ἡρακλείδῃ ἐν-
 κυκλιώναις χ[αίρειν.
 20 [. . .] περιη[
 δούλης Πρεμ[
 λιοπης δημ[οσιω-
 διὰ τοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξαν[δρεία καταλογεῖον.
 Σαραπίων Ἀπολλ[ωνίου ὁ προγεγραμμέ-
 25 γος φροντιστῆς [αὐτὸς τὸ ὑπόμνημα
 ἐπιδέδωκα. Ἔτους [τρίτου Αὐτοκράτορος
 Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρη[λίου Ἀντωνεῖνου
 Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Αὐτοκ[ράτορος Καίσαρος
 Λουκίου Αὐρηλί[ου Οὐήρου Σεβαστοῦ,
 30 Μεχεῖρ ιζ̄.

Col. i 'Thea- son of Sarapion of Oxyrhynchus, through Sarapion son of Apollonius, manager, to Aurelius Antiochus and Heraclides, contractors for the transfer tax, greeting. I have paid you, on behalf of the slave . . . freed by me, the transfer tax for her manumission, the sum being fifty-two drachmas of coined silver, 52 dr., and for warranty fee ten drachmas, 10 dr., that is in sum total sixty-two drachmas, 62 dr., for which I have had a receipt. I, Sarapion son of Apollonius the abovementioned manager, have personally written the statement. Year 3 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus and Emperor Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus, Mecheir 16.'

1 Θεαγένης is far and away the commonest name in Θεα-, but the traces do not commend it. Θεάνωρ is an attested name that is perhaps acceptable, but too little remains to be certain.

3 Αὐρηλίω Αντιόχῳ: Aurelius occasionally appears as the nomen of romanized Greeks before the Antonine Constitution. I know of no earlier occurrence without a praenomen than this.

The heirs of an Aurelius Antiochus are mentioned in III 512, a document of A.D. 173. The nomen at this date greatly increases the chances of identity.

3-4 ἐγκυ[κλι]ών[αι]ς (guaranteed by 18-19 ἐν[κυκκλιώναις]), a new title, equivalent to τελώναι ἐγκυκλίον (XVII 2111 18, P. Vindob. Worp 1. 5). ἐγκυκλιακοί (XX 2281 3, P. Mich. II 123 verso vii 16, BGU III 914. 5, P. Osl. III 118. 1) will probably have been officials.

4-5 I take it that the lines were spanned by the slave's name, whose manumission is apparently the subject of the second letter also, where the name is Πρεμμ[.]. Attested female names in Πρει-/Πρι- are Πρεΐμα, Πριμάνη, and Πριμέλλα. Πρ[εμμι]άν[η]ς and Πρ[εμμίλ]λ[η]ς are thus possibilities.

5-7 The rate of the manumission tax is unknown except in the case of Roman citizens, who were liable to the *vicesima libertatis*. The raising of the greco-egyptian tax, in so far as it related to an alienation of property, evidently devolved upon the ἐγκύκλιον farmers, as is suggested also by the phrase διὰ τοῦ ἐγκυκλίον καὶ ὧν ἄλλων καθήκει in some manumission documents (P. Strasb. 122. 11, SB III 6293. 6). The ἐγκύκλιον on sales was 10 per cent (A. C. Johnson, *Economic Survey*, 558 f., S. Wallace, *Taxation*, 228, 230, 448 n. 60, 449 n. 75), but the manumission tax was not necessarily the same (a 2 per cent rate, also raised by the farmers of the ἐγκύκλιον, was levied on mortgages, II 243). However, 52 dr. are paid on the sale of a slave at I 96 (A.D. 180) and again at P. Hamb. 79 (second century), so that though slave prices varied considerably, it seems quite possible that the manumission tax was also a 10 per cent rate.

Since it is the purchaser, and in the case of mortgages the mortgagee, who pays the ἐγκύκλιον in the Roman period, the presumption would be that the manumission tax was payable by the manumitted slave (as it is at P. Hib. I 29. 7, Ptolemaic), out of his or her peculium. But payment by the owner on the slave's behalf may have been regular practice. (At P. Tebt. II 407. 25 (A.D. 199?) a man who declares to his wife that he wishes to free some slaves standing in her name has himself paid the taxes due: διαγράψας πάντ'α τὰ ὑ[π]έρ αὐτῶν τέλη τῆς ἐλευθερώσεως.) Similarly the ransom price itself, the λύτρα, was paid not by the slave but by a third party. The slave's legal incapacity will account for both the payments in question being made, at least nominally, by someone other than the beneficiary of the transaction.

6-7 ἐγκυκλιακὸν | [..]. υς ὄν ἐν δραχ(μαῖς). For ἐγκυκλιακός in description of the tax (rather than of the collector) cf. P. Mich. II 123 verso vii 19 δαπάνη(ς) ἐγκυκλιακο(ῦ). The problem is, what to supply in 7? The upsilon and sigma are good readings, not open to much doubt; they are preceded by letter-tops difficult to interpret, perhaps most satisfactorily taken as]λο. So τέ]λους? But why the genitive? Hardly ὑπὲρ τέ]λους, even if there were room. τέ]λο{υ}ς, however desirable, arouses the misgivings to which the jettisoning of available evidence among deficient is properly liable. But I find no answer that saves the phenomena. τέλ(ος) δέκατον (or any other fraction) cannot be read; nor does it seem to help if the following ον is taken not as ὄν but as the termination of our *verbum petitem* (it would be admissible in itself: for omission of the participle in this phrase, cf. I 56 8).

8 The standing charge of 10 dr. occurs in various other documents relating to manumissions, viz. I 48, 49, 50, XXXVIII 2843, P. Lugd. Bat. XIII 24, cf. IV 722. Usually without a name, it is here called the [πρ]οπρατικόν. So far as I know the only other occurrence of this word is at P. Col. inv. 480 (P. Col. I = W. L. Westermann, *Upon Slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt; c. 198-197 B.C.*) 14, where it is synonymous with προπωλητικόν (ibid. 9-10), which itself is found elsewhere only in the Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus (SB *Beiheft* I) 55. 15. [προπρατικόν is unaccountably missing from all the standard lexica.] It is apparently not a brokerage fee but a charge for warranty against eviction: see, on προπωλητής and related words, J. Partsch, *Griechische Bürgschaftsrecht* i, 340-58, esp. 349 f. and 354 n. 3, cf. P. M. Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 35. 1. 11 f., and F. Pringsheim, *Greek Law of Sale*, 429-44, esp. 441. In sales of the Roman period the warrantor is the vendor himself (Pringsheim 439 ff., Taubenschlag *Law*², 251 n. 4), but it now appears that in the case of manumissions it was the state that undertook the liability for any eviction of the freedman from his freedom. This interpretation is suitable for the Columbia papyrus, where the προπρατικόν/προπωλητικόν is payable τῇ πόλει, i.e. to Alexandria. The same explanation has been given of the charges paid as βεβαιωτικόν or ὑπὲρ βεβαιώσεως (P. M. Meyer, *Festschrift Otto Hirschfeld gewidmet*, 151). Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt* 41, investigating property conveyances from bridegroom to bride, shows that πρόπρασις is equivalent to the demotic sh̄ (n) db3 hd, the deed which declares that the purchase money has been paid in full and to the vendor's satisfaction and which precedes the vendor's relinquishing his title to the property (this

being effected by a further deed). If a comparable procedure is to be envisaged for manumissions, record of the payment of the *προπρατικόν* (the charge upon the *πρόπρασις*?) will presumably have served to give the freedman security from eviction once the transaction was completed.

The expansion *προπ(ρατικοῦ)* is now available for 50 3 (A.D. 100), a banker's chit recording payment on a manumission.

20 ὕ[με]ῖν would satisfy the exiguous remains.

20-2 Perhaps 20 *περὶ ἧ[ς]* —, 22 *δημ[οσιώσεως τετελειωμένης]*, cf. IX 1200 7.

22]*λιότης*: the reading is secure (not, e.g., *ἐγκύκ]λιον ἧς*). A more precise identification than is given in the first letter? *ἐπικεκλημένης Καλ]λιότης? μητρὸς Καλ]λιότης?*

25-6 *τὸ ὑπόμνημα] ἐπιδέδωκα*: 'I have made the declaration', cf. I 73 23-4.

3242. DECLARATION OF PROPERTY

22 3B.15/G(4-7)(a)

15 × 16 cm.

A.D. 185-7

A general property return, complete except at the foot, blank on the back, addressed to both the strategus and the royal scribe by Dionysia, an Antinoite woman, acting through Sarapion son of Longinus of Oxyrhynchus. She registers, in response to a call issued by the prefect Pomponius Faustianus (185-7), the property that she owned at the village of Sko in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

In form it follows the usual pattern, see A. M. Harmon, *YCS* 4 (1934) 135 ff.; S. Avogadro, *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 131 ff.; and Cl. Préaux, *CE* 75 (1963) 117 ff.; other parallel documents: P. Harris, 74 (A.D. 99); P. Merton I 13 (98-102); P. Mil. Vogl. III 191-2 (130-1); PSI (ed. Bartoletti, 1965) no. 9 (161-2); PSI XIII 1325 (176-80); BGU XI 2022 (202); 2023 (198-201); P. Strasb. 192 (207); SB VIII 9878 (259); P. Vindob. Boswinkel 3 (279).

The present document is the first return known to me in response to a general call issued by Pomponius Faustianus. A point of interest is that Dionysia reports that part of her property was registered in the public records by her ancestors in the periods after the third year of Vespasian (A.D. 70/1) and the first of Titus (A.D. 79). This means that the property was preserved in the same family for over a hundred years. This is perhaps the longest history of a property in the same family that has been reported in the papyri of the period (Harmon, *op. cit.* p. 141, considered thirty-five years the longest history of a family property he was able to trace).

→ Διοφάνει *στρ(ατηγῶ)* καὶ Ἀρποκρατίωνι βασιλ(ικῶ) γρ(αμματεῖ)
 παρὰ Διονυσίας *Σαραπίადος* τῆς καὶ Θαμουνίου Ἀντινοί-
 δος διὰ *Σαραπίωνος Λογγεῖνου* ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως. ἀπο-
 γράφομαι κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ Πομπωνίου Φαυστια-
 5 νοῦ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόν[ο]ς τὸ ὑπάρχον μοι περὶ
 κώμην *Σκῶ* τῆς ἄνω το(παρχίας) ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου κλήρου
 ἀμπέλου ἀρχαίας ἐν ἧ φοίνικ(ες) καὶ ἀγρόδ(ρνα) καὶ καλαμεί-

1 *στρς, βασι^λ γρ^λ*

2-3 *αντινοῖδος*

6 *το)*

7 *φοινικ^ς, αγρο^δ l. ἀκρόδ(ρνα)*

- ας (δίμοιρον) μέρος (ἀρουρῶν) δ (ἡμίους) ις λβ οὐκῶν (τέταρτον) μέρος
 ἀπὸ ἐπιγρ(αφομένων)
 ὄλων (ἀρουρῶν) ιη (τετάρτον) ἦ οὐκῶν ἐν ὀνόματι τῶν προγόνων μου
 10 δηλωθειῶν διὰ δημοσίων λόγων ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ γ (ἔτους) Οὐε(πασιανου)
 καὶ α (ἔτους) Τίτου χρόνοις, παραδείξου ὁμοίως ἐκ νότ(ου) τῆς α(ὕτης)
 ἀμ(πέλου) σὺν διαψείλ(ω) (δίμοιρον) μέρος (ἀρούρης) αἦ δηλωθέντος διὰ δη-
 μοσίων λόγων ἀνῆχθ(αι) ἐν τοῖς προκειμένοις χρόνοις,
 οἰκοπέδ(ων) καὶ διαψείλ(ου) καὶ κυκλευτηρίου καὶ (ἡμίους) μέρος
 15 ὑδρευμάτων (δίμοιρον) μέρος (ἀρούρης) (τετάρτον) ἦ [ὄ]περ ἐστὶν τὸ ἐπιβάλ-
 λον ἐμοί τε καὶ κοινωνῶ μου [(τέταρτον)] μέρος τῆς διὰ δη-
 μοσίων λόγῳ[ν ἀ]ναγραφομένης ἐν οἰκο(πέδοις) (ἀρούρης) α (ἡμίους). γείτ[ο-
 νες τῶν προκειμένων νότ(ου) κ[αί] ἀπηλ(ιώτου) ἐμοῦ καὶ κοινω-
 νοῦ μου, βορρά ἄμπελος Σαραπ[ί]ωνος Ἄνδρονείκου,
 20 λιβὸς ἄμπελος. καὶ ὁμοίως ἀ[πογ]ρ(άφομαι) τὸ ὑπάρχον μοι
 (δίμοιρον) μέρος περὶ τὴν α(ὕτην) ζκῶ ἐκ τ[οῦ] Ποσιδίππου κλή(ρου)
 παραδ(είξου) (ἀρουρῶν) ιξ. ἦ. γείτον[ες] πάντοθεν ἐμοῦ
 καὶ [κ]οινῶ[ν] μου. καὶ ὁμ[οίως] ἀ[πογ]ρ(άφομαι) περ[ὶ] Μ[ο-
 νίμου κ.]
 25

8 β), ὤ-διδιςλβ, d', 1. (τετάρτου) μέρος, επιγρ 9 ὤ-ιηd'ἦ 10 γ(ουε) 11 ας, νο^τ, ā
 12 αμ), διαψείλβ), ὤ-αἦ 13 ἀνηχ^θ 14 οἰκοπέδ^δ, διαψείλ^λ, ς' 15 β), ὤ-dἦ 17 οἰκο)
 ὤ-ας' 18 νο^τ, ἀπη^λ 20 α[πογ]ρς 21 β), ā, κλ^η 22 παρα^δ ὤ- 23 α[πογ]ρς

'To Diophanes, strategus, and Harpocraton, royal scribe, from Dionysia, daughter of Sarapias alias Thamounion, of Antinoopolis, by agency of Sarapion son of Longinus, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. I register in accordance with the orders issued by Pomponius Faustianus, the most glorious prefect, the two-thirds share of an ancient vineyard, in which there are date palms and fruit trees, and of a reed bed, which I hold in the vicinity of the village of Sko in the upper toparchy from the *clerus* of Apollonius, amounting to $4 + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{16} + \frac{1}{32}$ aruras, which are a fourth share from the full listed number of $18 + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{8}$ aruras, which are in the name of my forebears and reported in the public records in the periods from the 3rd year of Vespasian and from the 1st year of Titus; likewise a two-thirds share of garden-land on the south side of the same vineyard including infertile ground, amounting to $1\frac{1}{8}$ aruras, reported in the public records to have resulted from agricultural improvements in the aforesaid period; a two-thirds share of building land and infertile land and a water-wheel and of a half share of water sources, amounting to $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{8}$ aruras, which is the quarter share devolving upon me and my partner of the $1\frac{1}{2}$ aruras listed in the public records as building land. Boundaries of the aforesaid properties are:—on the south and east, property belonging to me and my partner; on the north, a vineyard belonging to Sarapion son of Andronicus; on the west, a vineyard. And likewise I register the two-thirds share of garden-land, amounting to $16 + ?$ aruras, which I hold in the vicinity of the same (village of) Sko from the *clerus* of Posidippus. Boundaries on all sides are:—property belonging to me and my partner. **And** likewise I register in the vicinity of Monimu'

1 It is perhaps improbable that this Diophanes was identical with a Diophanes who—ten years later—appears as strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, *c.* 197–200. There are other strategi in the interval, see H. Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, 31, and G. Mussies, *P. Lugd. Bat.* XIV, p. 26, no. 275. Another strategus, Isidorus, was in office on 25 May A.D. 186 (II 237 vi 32–6). It is not clear whether this Diophanes was his predecessor or his successor.

Harpocration is already known as royal scribe and deputy strategus in A.D. 186, see II 237 vi 36, vii 10, SB I 5693. 4, XXIV 2414 22?

4 Pomponius Faustianus was prefect of Egypt at least from December/January A.D. 185/6 to September A.D. 187, see *BASP* 4 (1967) 102.

Here we have a general call for property registration later than the one issued by M. Sempronius Liberalis, see Omaggio all' XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia (PSI ed. Bartoletti) 9. 5 n.

10–11 ἀπὸ γ (ἔτους) Οὐε(πασιανῶ) καὶ α (ἔτους) Τέτου. It is not clear what the two dates signify. One possibility is that they are the dates of the two earliest general property returns in which the family of Dionysia laid claim to this land. They are not, however, among the known dates of the general returns listed in *YCS* 4 (1934) 184.

The long history of this family property is another indication of the stable and prosperous conditions of the second century. Other cases of family property with a history of two or more generations from the papyri of the second century are those of the families of Heron son of Hermanoubion, BGU III 959 (149), P. Berl. Leihg. 18 (163), of M. Valerius Turbo, BGU VII 1574, 1565 (169), 1662 (181–2), of Onesicrates son of Ptolemaeus, BGU III 919 (second century), of Sabina Apollonarian, PSI XIII 1325 (176–80).

22 (ἀρουρῶν) ις. . . . ῆ. Before ῆ = (δγδόου) the trace looks like the upright of d = (τετάρτου). If so, probably the whole figure ought to be read ιςδῆ = 16 + $\frac{1}{2}$ + $\frac{1}{4}$ + $\frac{1}{8}$, even though the lacuna seems somewhat too wide. The oblique stroke after the (ἡμίτου) sign may have been unusually long.

3243. REPORT TO A PREFECT OF EGYPT

14 1B.202/L(b)

Fr. 1, 32 × 20 cm.

A.D. 214/15

A reply to the prefect of Egypt, Septimius Heraclitus, from the strategus of the Themistes and Polemon districts of the Arsinoite nome, concerning corn supplies. It is written in an accomplished 'chancery' hand (which shows that proficiency in this impressive style was not confined to the prefect's office), stylistically looser than the otherwise very similar XIX 2227, which is roughly contemporary. Alpha and omicron occasionally 'float' to the top of the line, as in P. Berol. 6925 (*tav.* 2 of the plates given by G. Cavallo in *Aeg.* 45 (1965) 215–49). The calligraphic intent is underlined by the presence of two rough breathings. The letter extended to a second column, which is mostly lost, so that the date clause is missing, but it is the balance in hand from the harvest of Caracalla's 22nd year (A.D. 213/14) that is in question, and the document is probably to be dated around the end of 214 (see further 2 n.). It may be that the prefect's demand for the information sought had been prompted by the impending imperial visitation: cf. PSI VI 683, a survey undertaken on the orders of the epistrategus on the occasion of Septimius Severus' visit to Egypt in 199. 3243 was presumably intended, when written, to be the copy actually sent to Alexandria, but it was probably rejected on account of the original omission of the imperial titles.

The papyrus reveals that the Mons Claudianus was still being quarried in this period. Hitherto the latest evidence of its exploitation has been Hadrianic.

On the back are three columns of private accounts (not transcribed) covering a period of just over a month. The most frequently recurring item is wine.

	Fr. 1 Col. i	Col. ii
→	<p> <i>Αὐρηλίωι</i> <i>Σ[ε]πτιμίωι</i> Ἡρακλείτωι τῶι λαμπρ[οτάτω]ι ἡγεμόνι (<i>vac.</i>) Καλπούρνιος Ἰσίδωρος ὁ καὶ Ἀρπ[ο]κρατί- ων στρατηγὸς Ἀρσινοῦτου Θεμιστροῦ καὶ Πολ[έ]μων[ο]ς μερίδων (<i>vac.</i>) χαίρειν. </p>	
5	<p> <i>Λαβίων σου γράμματα, δέσποτα ἡγεμών, προστάσσοντα</i> <i>ἐμοί τε καὶ τῶ τῆς ἑτέρας μερίδος στρατηγῶ τὴν ἀπὸ</i> <i>καρπῶν τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους τοῦ κυρίου</i> <i>ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορος Ἐουθήρου Ἀντωνίνου Ἐὐτυχοῦς Ἐὐσεβοῦς</i> <i>Σεβαστοῦ ἰουπογραφουμένην</i> <i>εἰς ἣν ἡμέραν κομιζόμεθά σου τὰ γράμμ[α]τα ἐν</i> <i>το[ῖ]ς θησα[υροῖς ν]έμειν καὶ δ[ηλ]ῶσαι σοι πᾶ[ν τὸ] ἀπο-</i> <i>κείμενον μ[έ]τρον προσθ[εῖ]σι πόσον ἢ[δη] παρ-</i> <i>εδόθη εἷς τε τροφὰς κτηνῶ[ν] τῶν ἐν Θηβα[ί]δι στρα-</i> <i>τευμάτων καὶ εἰς χρείας τῶν ὑπηρετούντων</i> <i>τοῖς Πορφυρειτικοῖς καὶ Κλαυδιανοῖς μετάλλοις</i> <i>ἔτι τε κ[αὶ] εἰς τὰς ἐπὶ τ[ό]πων γεινομέν[α]ς συνηθε[ῖ]</i> </p>	<p> δ[ε[]..[του[(ἔτους) .[</p>
10		
15		
	<p> 2 ἰσιδωρος 3 αρσινοῦτου 9 ἦν (<i>sic</i>) 13 ὑπηρετούντων </p>	

Fragments of col. ii?

	Fr. 2	Fr. 3

].[].[...].
	]ρουκαία . . [	]ν μέρο[ς] καὶ [
	ε[κ]ατέρου τὴν π . [	]θαι μέτρον τι ὦ[
	]ν τῶν ἀπὸ του . [	] δαπανήματα κ[
5	]εις τε στρατιωτικ[	5]ου μέρος επ[
	]. πωξνδαπ . να[	]. οταξ[. .]τα[
	]αξθη . [. .] . ζκα . [	]ιθ . [
	ἐπι]στολη[	. . . . .
	. . . . .	3 ὦ

Fr. 2 6]. πω ἐν δαπάνα[ις? The first letter is probably alpha or epsilon (not rho, nor iota).

7 Θηβα[αἰδ]ος looks likely.

Fr. 4

.
]ς εἰς τὰς πρ[
]πενευθει[
].ουγε[

‘To Aurelius Septimius Heraclitus, most illustrious prefect, from Calpurnius Isidorus also called Harpocraton, strategus of the Themistes and Polemon departments of the Arsinoite, greeting.

On receipt of your letter, my lord prefect, instructing me and the strategus of the other division to distribute(?) the <grain?> that is in balance in the granaries from the harvest of the 22nd year of our lord emperor Severus Antoninus Felix Pius Augustus up to the date we receive your letter and to report to you the total amount remaining, adding how much has already been given over for provisions for the animals of the troops in the Thebaid and for the requirements of the men serving in the Porphyrite and Claudian quarries, as well as for the customary local . . .’

Col. i 1 The earliest attested date for the prefecture of Septimius Heraclitus is 16 March, A.D. 215 (Stein, *Die Präfekten*, 115). The fact that the strategus here does not yet call himself Aurelius makes it likely that Heraclitus was in office at any rate a few months before then (see next note).

2 The strategus is new in this nome, i.e. not in G. Bastianini, *Gli strateghi dell’Arsinoites in epoca romana*, p. 57. In XXXVIII 2876 Calpurnius Isidorus also called Harpocraton is strategus of the Memphite nome. The editors put forward reasons for dating that document ‘early in the sole reign of Caracalla’ (14–16 n.). They mention the document published under this number and also another, published in this volume as 3263, written just after 29 August A.D. 215, our man is, as here, strategus in the Arsinoite, but he appears with the additional nomen Aurelius. Evidently he acquired the name in the course of his tenure of office in the Arsinoite, as a result of the Antonine Constitution. The Constitution had begun to affect nomenclature early in the 23rd year of Caracalla, A.D. 214/15 (*JEA* 48 (1962) 124–31), so that the absence of ‘Aurelius’ here establishes a rough *terminus ante quem*. But the reference to the *λοιπογραφουμένη* of the 22nd year suggests that the end of that year is passed (otherwise, moreover, one might expect specifically ‘of the *current* (τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος) 22nd year’), i.e. that the prefect’s letter to which the present document is the response was written later than 29 August 214. A date in the last few months of 214 is therefore probable.

Isidorus’ immediate predecessor in the Arsinoite nome may have been the well-known Sarapion also called Apollonianus (or Apollonius) who was strategus there in 210, but this cannot be regarded as certain, for Sarapion is last attested in that office on 31 July of that year (P. Flor. III 317; it is unsafe to infer from XVIII 2184 that he was still in office in 214).

5 *δέεσποτα ἡγεμών* is a deferential phrase, used elsewhere only in private petitions to the prefect. It may be that the strategus is asking for an extension of time or some other indulgence.

6 The prefect’s letter will have been addressed simply *στρατηγοῖς Ἀρσινοίτου*, cf. PSI VI 683. 5.

τῷ τῆς ἐτέρας μερίδος στρατηγῷ: the strategus of the Heraclides division at this time may or may not have been either Aurelius Aelius(?) Isidorus, in office some time between January and May 216, or Aurelius Hierax also called Ammonius, attested for May–June 213 (Mussies, P. Lugd. Bat. XIV p. 18; Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, p. 57; Bastianini, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 f.).

6–8 *τῆν . . . λοιπογραφουμένην*: *sc. ἀνῶναν*? But its ellipse at so early a date would be surprising. Perhaps the noun has been inadvertently omitted: *ὑπόστασιν* (P. Tebt. II 336. 7), *κριθῆν*?

λοιπογραφεῖν, an accounting term, means to carry over, whether in arrears (debit) or in balance (credit): cf. P. Col. V 1 verso 1a introd., *Berl. Leihgabe* 1 recto iii 20 n. The item of reference will be the assessment of corn for dispatch to Alexandria and thence to Rome. *ἡ λοιπογραφουμένη* could theoretically be corn which should already have been sent but which (whether through administrative incompetence or deficiency of the harvest) had not been (cf. XXII 2341 25), or the surplus remaining in hand after the amount due had been sent off. Which meaning it has here will depend on the verb governing it in 10; if *ν]έμειν*, either interpretation will give sense of a kind, see note below.

10 $\nu]: only slight traces of ξ and μ remain, but the strong stylization of the hand makes for precision in identification. Of ξ there remains only the top of the upper loop, but any reading other than ξ would be forced. μ is represented by a trace on an isolated fibre level with the foot of the following ϵ , and lower and to the left of this by a rightward hook, characteristic of mu but found now and again also with kappa, and incompatible I would say with any other letter unless anomalously formed. If the letter were kappa one would expect other parts of it to be visible, perhaps the top of its vertical and the extremity of its lower leg. But mu is not entirely free from objection either, for elsewhere it is invariably ligatured to the following letter, in the case of epsilon to the top of the lower half (the top half being ligatured in turn to the next letter again); whereas here there is no stroke coming in to the middle of epsilon. $\theta\eta\zeta\alpha$ [$\nu\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma$] will have taken up most of the lacuna: it could contain one more letter, perhaps two, hardly more.$

Unless some such error as $\gamma\epsilon\mu<\xi>\epsilon\upsilon$ is postulated, $\nu] is practically unavoidable. If it is right, one must assume that the corn in question was assigned to the use of the military (cf. J. Lesquier, *L'Armée romaine*, 350-68), and that the strategi had had previous instructions specifying the amounts and the recipients (cf. e.g. P. Amh. II 107). Whatever the verb, $\epsilon\upsilon$ τοῖς $\theta\eta\zeta\alpha\nu\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma$ construes not with it but with $\lambda\omicron\iota\pi\omicron\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\eta\upsilon$, cf. BGU III 976. 24, 977. 3.$

$\nu], however, makes it difficult to extract a reasonable sense. If the strategi are to disburse the balance (i.e. the corn left over after the quota for Alexandria had been filled and the military requisitions met), the second instruction, to inform the prefect of the amount left in store, is nonsensical, for there will of course be none. There are various ways of circumventing this ($\lambda\omicron\iota\pi\omicron\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\eta\upsilon$ might not mean in balance but in arrears, so that the amount of the civil annona in arrears is to be diverted to local needs; or $\tau\omicron$ ἀποκείμενον μέτρον includes some kind of grain that does not come under ἡ $\lambda\omicron\iota\pi\omicron\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omicron\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$, or grain from previous years), but it remains true that if the communication is connected with the impending imperial visit, as seems very likely, the orders one might expect would be, as Mr. Parsons suggests, *not* to make any further distribution but on the contrary to hold all remaining stocks in store until the government should know what resources are available. Working then from sense to text: $\xi\chi\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ (or $\zeta\chi\epsilon\iota\upsilon$, intrinsically preferable but palaeographically inferior) is a forced and scarcely tolerable reading, while $\xi\kappa\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ (l. $\xi\chi\epsilon\iota\upsilon$) would involve a phonetic error not uncommon but in this document unexpected and unparalleled. $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota]\theta\mu\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ (virtually a technical term of book-keeping and stock-taking) has stronger claims to consideration, for θ , though not a wholly satisfactory reading, is perhaps an acceptable one; however, I am not sure that the lacuna can accommodate so much.$

11 $\pi\rho\omicron\theta$ [$\epsilon\iota\varsigma$] $\pi\acute{\omicron}\delta\omicron\upsilon$: otherwise $\pi\rho\omicron\theta$ [$\epsilon\iota\varsigma$] ν $\delta\omicron\upsilon$. The participle may have been in another case, but $\pi\rho\omicron\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, the likeliest alternative, would be rather too long for the lacuna.

14 On the Mons Porphyrites and Mons Claudianus, see D. M. Meredith, 'Roman Remains in the Eastern Desert of Egypt' *JEA* 38 (1952) 94-111, and refs. *ibid.* 98 n. 4, 101 n. 3. For the military supervision of the quarries see Lesquier, *op. cit.* 239-43, and A. C. Johnson, *Economic Survey*, 241 f. The papyrus demonstrates that the Mons Claudianus was still being exploited under Caracalla. The general assumption, from which Meredith however demurs (pp. 109 f.), has been that it was permanently abandoned after Hadrian (C. Préaux, *CE* 51 (1951) 359).

3244. OATH OF OFFICE¹

3 1B.81/C(1)b

8.0 × 20.7 cm.

3 December A.D. 228

This is a piece of a *tomos synkollesimos* containing two joined copies of the same document (cf. XXXVI 2764). The right-hand piece, of which the text is here presented, is complete at the top and at both margins. Of the left-hand piece not much survives—merely enough to show that the texts are identical and to supply the date

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 15 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology XI, 1971), Appendix IV.

missing in line 32. In the same folder were seven other scraps, including a piece possibly from the same *tomos* of which the right-hand text preserves parts of sixteen lines of a similar document.

The text is an oath of office of the familiar type, see E. Seidl, *Der Eid*, 76–80, P. Leit. 12 and most recently XXXVI 2764 with citation of similar documents. In this case the office—that of supplying fish for the city—is probably not liturgical; more likely the man works as a *misthotes* under the supervision of the agoranomi or eutheniarchs. For a similar oath applied to a non-liturgic office see I 83 where an egg-seller undertakes to sell his produce only in the market.

Aurelius Sarapion son of Achilleus addresses Aurelius Theon also called Maximus, a (previously unattested) prytanis of the bule of Oxyrhynchus, swearing to fulfil the duty of supplying fish and offering as his surety Aurelius Theon son of Theon. The back of the papyrus contains two docketts one of which probably describes the contents of the whole *tomos*; the other, which I have not been able to read fully, probably refers only to this text.

An additional point of interest is the occurrence on this papyrus of an example of the *damnatio memoriae* of Severus Alexander (see I 1 n.).

→ (m. 1) *Ἀὐρηλίω Θεώνι τῶ καὶ*
Μαξίμωι γυμ(α)ιαρχ(ω) ἐνάρχ(ω)
πρυτάνει τῆς Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλ(εως) διέπο[ν-]
τι καὶ τ[ὰ π]ολειτ(ικὰ) τῆς αὐτῆς πόλ(εως)
 5 *Ἀὐρήλι[ο]ς Σαραπίων Ἀχιλ-*
λέ[ε]ως μητρὸς Διεῦτος
ἀπ' Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλεως μεταβό-
λος τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.
Ὀμνύω τὴν Μάρκου
 10 *Ἀὐρηλίου Σεουήρου*
[[Ἀλεξανδρου]] Καίσαρος
τοῦ κυρίου τύχην χο-
ρηγήσειν τῇ πόλει
ἀνευδεῶς τ[ὸν]
 15 *ἰχθὺν ἀπὸ ἰς' τοῦ*
ἄγτου μηνὸς Χοιακ ἐφ'
ἄρον οἱ τοῦ Μογίμου

2 γυμ(α)ιαρχ 3 οξ(υ)πολ
 end of line (also in 13, 15); final letter extended in 7, 9, 10, 17, 18, 19, 23

7 οξυπολεως
 12 Filler at
 15 ἰχθυον?

- ἐποικίου ἀλεεῖς
 ἐργάζονται εἰς τὸ ἐν
 20 μηδενὶ μεμφθῆναι
 ἢ ἔνοχος [ε]ῖην τῷ ὄρκῳ.
 παρέσχ[ο]ν δὲ ἑμαυτοῦ
 ἐγγυητῆν Αὐρήλι[ο]ν
 Θέωνα Θέωνος
 25 μητ(ρὸς) Διογενίδος [τ]ῆς α(ὐτῆς) πόλ(εως)
 παρόντα καὶ εὐδοκοῦν-
 τα. (ἔτους) η'
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
 30 Ζεουήρου [[Ἀλεξάνδρου]]
 Εὐ[ε]βοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς
 Ζεβαστοῦ Χ[ο]ιὰκ [ζ'].
 (m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Κα[ραπίων]
 Α]χιλλ[έως ὄμοσα]
 35 τὸν ὄρκ]ον ὡ[ς πρόκειται.]

Traces of two more lines

Back ↓ (m. 3) ἐγγυητῆς Αὐρήλιος
 Θέων ε.δ.λ...

40 σουχειωμεν[.].

→ (m. 4) χειρόγ(ραφα) ἐγγύ(ων)

25 μη^τ, πο^λ

α'.27 ∠ η'

39 smudged; attempted erasure?

41 χειρογ^ς ενγυ

(1st hand) 'To Aurelius Theon also called Maximus (ex-?) gymnasiarch, prytanis-in-office of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, administrator of the city funds of the same city, Aurelius Sarapion son of Achilleus, whose mother is Dieus, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, merchant of the same city. I swear by the fortune of Marcus Aurelius Severus (Alexander) Caesar the lord that I will faultlessly provide fish for the city from the sixteenth of the present month Choiak as long as the fishermen of the village of Monimou are working, in such a way as to incur no blame or may I be liable to the consequences of the oath. And I present as my surety Aurelius Theon son of Theon, whose mother is Diogenis, of the same city, who is present and consenting. Year 8 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus (Alexander) Pius Felix Augustus, Choiak [7]. (2nd hand) I, Aurelius Sarapion son of Achilleus, have sworn the oath as stated above... Back: (3rd hand) Surety Aurelius Theon... (4th hand) Deeds of surety.'

1-4 Aurelius Theon alias Maximus was previously unattested as prytanis, see A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, 131. For the title *διέπων καὶ τὰ πολιτικά*, *ibid.* 59.

7-8 For μεταβόλοι of fish see WO II 647, 1449, PSI VII 737, WO I p. 136.

11 The name Alexander is obliterated here and in line 30, and also in the corresponding lines of the other copy. This is evidently an example of the *damnatio memoriae* of Severus Alexander which is known from Egyptian inscriptions (SB V 8478, 8482 = Lepsius, *Denkmäler* xii, Taf. 92, nos. 333 and 344, SB III 7018) and from elsewhere (cf. *RE* ii (1896), 2527). I have not been able to parallel this on papyrus. In P. Ryl. II 297 (descr.) where the editors report the obliteration of Augustus I find nothing corresponding to their description of the erasure.

12-13 χορηγήσειν. For the term χορηγία applied to a non-liturgic office see XXXI 2569 15-16. Cf. also P. Lond. III 974 (p. 115), containing a declaration of surety for a καρπώνης who is to supply fruit in Hermopolis; the verb there used is ὑπηρετέω. The situation in P. Got. 3 is probably different—the man who was to provide fish for the visit of Caracalla in A.D. 215-16 was εἰδοθείς (line 6), which indicates that the post was a liturgy.

16-17 ἐφ' ὅσον. The reading is not certain, but we must have a phrase which connects with the following words to describe the conditions of the service. At the end of 16 we have really only a ligature leading from epsilon and no trace of a vertical. Omicron and sigma at the beginning of 17 fit the traces comfortably; the word ends with a short vertical which suits the right-hand stroke of nu. The phrase makes reasonable sense and implies that the fishing was a seasonal activity. An alternative possibility is εἰς ἄν... ἐργάζονται (l. ἐργάζωνται), i.e. 'until the fishermen... are working', implying that he is to replace them. But this suits the traces less well and the sense is more difficult because it makes the man directly responsible for getting the fish, whereas a μεταβόλος is more naturally understood as a middleman between the fishermen and the market. Unfortunately the other copy does not preserve this section.

18 On fishing in Egypt see San Nicolò, *Vereinswesen* i 94-7, Besta, *Aegyptus* 2 (1921), 67-74. Recently published documents connected with fishing are P. Leit. 14, P. Wis. 6 (cf. *ZPE* 12 (1973), 262), 37, 30 [[Ἀλεξάνδρου]]: see 11 n.

32 The date is supplied from the other copy where zeta is clearly to be seen.

33 ff. For the form of the endorsements see e.g. VI 972, XXXVI 2764. The last letter surviving in 35 is more like omega than the beginning of καί, making it unlikely that καί ἐκτελέσω κτλ. was included here. The endorsement by the surety will have read: Ἀυρήλιος Θέων Θέωνος δμῶσας τὸν ὄρκον ἐγγυῶμαι τὸν Καρπίωνα ὡς πρόκειται (cf. XXXVI 2764 36-8), but the traces in the last two lines are too indeterminate to offer a reading.

39-40 This docket has escaped decipherment. Line 39 is somewhat smudged, but I do not think that ἐπιδεδωκῆ can be read. The second letter looks like nu, the fourth could be epsilon, but in the fifth there is no trace of the bottom stroke which delta would require. Line 40 is more frustrating because the first seven letters, at least, seem clear but make no sense in any plausible articulation. *Κουχίω* is the most plausible reading but there is no evidence for such a building in Oxyrhynchus, nor would its connection with the present document be easily explained. *Κούχος* appears in XXXI 2598, but the editor reasonably suggests a connection with the Fayum. To read *κοῦ χειρόγραφον vel sim.* would be to force the orthography with no gain in understanding.

41 For this docket compare P. Lips. 52 verso.

3245. REPORT OF A PUBLIC PHYSICIAN¹

7 1B.1/XI-XII(e)

11.6 × 19.3 cm.

A.D. 297

A piece of a *tomos synkollesimos* consisting of one fairly well preserved document, to which is attached, at the right-hand side, a small fragment of another document. The main piece is incomplete at the foot and lacks the ends of lines after line 7. Its back is blank, unlike that of the small fragment.

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 18 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology XI, 1971), Appendix IV.

The document contains a report submitted by a public physician and although the fragment on the right is too small to yield any significant information the occurrence of *υπηρ* [.]. [in line 24 (*υπηρ*[*ε*]τ[*ου*?]) and the docket on the back suggest that the subject was the same. One significant point emerges in the fact that the report was submitted to a prytanis of Oxyrhynchus named Aurelius Aelurion alias Hesychius (here first attested as prytanis, see 3 n.). Such reports were usually addressed to the strategus in the third century, later to the logistes. The present text dates to a time of change in the municipal administration of Egypt. The position of strategus was clearly on the wane, but the institution of the logistes did not occur until several years later.

Documents of this type are reasonably common in the second, third, and fourth centuries A.D. They are discussed in detail by K. Sudhoff, *Ärztliches aus griechischen Papyrusurkunden* (1909), 240 ff. and in P. Osl. III, pp. 100–3 (to the examples there cited add XII 1556 and PSI V 455). Apart from the address the present text does not differ significantly from the other examples. Aurelius Thonius, the public physician, reports that, as a result of instructions from the prytanis engendered by a petition from two Oxyrhynchites, he has examined the person in question and adds the details of the physical damage observed.

Col. i

- (m. 1) ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Μαξιμιανοῦ
 C[ε]βαστῶ τὸ ε' καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ β'.
 Αὐρηλίῳ Αἰλουρίῳ τῷ καὶ Ἑσυχίῳ γενομένῳ ὑπομ(νηματογράφῳ)
 β[ουλευ]τῆ τῆς λαμ(προτάτης) πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξ(ανδρέων) γυμ(νασιάρχ)
 βουλ(ευτῆ) ἐνάρχῳ
- 5 πρυτάνι τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Θωνίου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως
 δημοσίου ἱατροῦ. ἐπετράπην ὑπὸ σοῦ διὰ Αὐρηλ(ίου)
 Εἰρηναί[ο]υ ὑπηρέτου τῆς τάξεως ἐκ βιβλι[δίων ἐπι-]
 δ]οθέντων σοὶ ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίῳ Διδύμῳ καὶ Πτολε[μα]ί[ου]
- 10 Διονυσίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀρτεμιδώρου ἀμφοτέρῳ[ν ἀπὸ]
 τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλεως ὥστε ἐφιδεῖν τ[ὸν
 ἐγγεγραμ-]
- μένον τοῖς βιβλιδίο[ις] αὐτῶν Παταρε[ῦτα]
 καὶ ἦν ἐὰν καταλάβῃ διαθέσειν ἐνγράφως π[ροσφωνεῖν.]
 ὅθεν ἐφίδον τοῦτο[ν] ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει ἐπὶ παρ[όντος]
- 15 τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὑπηρέτου ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τοῦ πήχους [τῆς δεξιᾶς]

3 ὑπομς 4 λαμς, αλεξ' γυμς βουλ^λ 5 1. πρυτάνει, λαμς και λαμς 7 ὑπο, αυρηλ^λ
 11 λαμς και λαμς οξ^τ 14 1. ἐφεῖδον (cf. Mayser-Schmoll, I i pp. 175–6) 15 ὑπηρετου

χιρός τραῦμα καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς πλ[ῆγμα,]
 ᾗ]περ προσφωνῶ. (vac.)
 (ἔτους) ιγ' καὶ (ἔτους) ιβ' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶ[ν Διοκλητιανοῦ]
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ (ἔτους) ες τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου]
 20 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καίσαρ[ων.....]
 [.....]. [.....]. [c. 25 letters]

Col. ii

→ (m. 2) ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν[
 Αὐρηλιο[
 υπηρ[.].]

25 Back ↓ (m. 3) ἀ' γτ' (ἴγραφο) περὶ ος
 θυγ(ατρὸς) Διονυσίου

16 l. χείρως

18 ∟ twice

19 ∟

25 α!τ

26 θυγ⁻

(1st hand) 'In the consulship of our lords Imperator Maximianus Augustus for the fifth time and Maximianus the most illustrious Caesar for the second time. To Aurelius Aelurion also called Hesychius, formerly hypomnematographus, councillor of the most glorious city of the Alexandrians, (ex-?) gymnasiarch, councillor, prytanis-in-office of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites from Aurelius Thonius from the same city, public physician. I was instructed by you through Aurelius Irenaeus, assistant of your office, in consequence of a petition presented to you by the Aurelii Didymus and Ptolemaeus, sons of Dionysius also called Artemidorus, both from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, to examine the Patareus mentioned in their petition and to make a written report on the condition in which I found him. Accordingly I examined this man in the same city in the presence of the same assistant, having on the forearm of his right hand a wound and on his left hand a blow. Which I accordingly report. Year 13 and year 12 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian Augusti and year 5 of our lords Constantius and Maximianus the most illustrious Caesars . . . (3rd hand) Copy concerning oe daughter of Dionysius.'

2 The letters after alpha of C[ε]βαστρη are virtually obliterated, but the numeral ε is clear.

3 Aelurion is known from PSI V 461. 9-10 (A.D. 290) where the name Ἡ[κυχίω] may now be restored; he is here first attested as prytanis, see introd. and *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, 133.

12 The name at the end of the line is difficult to read. Παταρεῦς seems to fit best the surviving traces (it occurs in P. Mil. Vogl. II 110). Or is it the ethnic Παταρέ[α, 'the man from Patara'? Πατεββῆ[γ] is also a possible reading.

16 πλ[ῆγμα. Lambda looks to be the best reading for the second letter. πληγή is far more common than πλῆγμα but the meaning of the latter is closer to what is required here; πληγή means the act of striking rather than the results of the act (cf. τύματα πληγῶν, PSI V 455. 16-17). The remains do not suit π[ε]λίωμα, nor is it plausible to emend the text to π<ε>λ[ίωμα.

20 The month and day are lost at the end of the line.

21 A subscription by the physician will have followed here, as for example in VI 896 37 ff.: ἐπιδέδωκα προσφωνῶν ὡς πρόκειται. An oath is unusual in this type of document (P. Osl. III, p. 102).

25 ἀ' γτ' (ἴγραφο). The last two letters are written very cursorily above the line and the first letter of περὶ has been corrected. The usual term for a document of this kind is προσφώνησις, but the initial letter certainly looks like alpha. As for the name, the last three letters seem secure but the beginning is very cramped and indistinct. In the absence of other suitable names Ἡρσίνοχος must be regarded as a possibility.

3246. FRAGMENT OF A PETITION¹

31 4B.11/B(1-2)a

20.5 × 7.7 cm.

A.D. 297/8(?)

A fragment of a petition of which virtually only the address survives. The only clue as to its content is the occurrence of the word *χῶμα* in 10. Several features of the papyrus suggest that this fragment was originally part of a large document. The first two preserved lines, which contain the date, are in a different hand from the rest. A trace of ink above the iota of *Διοκλητ[ιανοῦ]* looks like the foot of a descender in a previous line. Lines 4 ff. are indented and we should therefore assume that the first three lines constitute the end of a document written above and that at line 4 a new document commences. The back of the papyrus is blank.

What is left of the document—an address to the strategus from five people including two women—contains a couple of points of interest. This strategus has only been attested once, in IX 1204 2 where his name was read as *Ζηνογένει*. In line 4 of the present text we have *Ζηναγένει* and Dr. R. A. Coles, who has seen IX 1204, kindly informs me that *Ζηναγένει* should be read there. The male petitioners carry a normal sequence of municipal titles, but the father of one of the women has the curious title *ὑπομ(ηματογράφου) ἀπὸ ζτεφάνου*, a qualification which is, so far as I know, unparalleled. It is therefore difficult to elucidate its meaning, though it is obviously connected with the crown of office. Perhaps it means that the man had filled the office but not worn the crown, or vice versa (cf. SB V 7996. 97).

.

→ [c. 20 letters] . [

(m. 1) (ἔτους) ἰδ̄ καὶ ἰγς' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητ[ιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν
καὶ 5ς Κωνσταντίου καὶ
Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Κα[ισάρων

(m. 2) Ἀὐρηλίῳ Ζηναγένει στρατηγῶ Ὀξυρυγίτου [(vac.)
5 παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Ὀρίωνος τοῦ καὶ Παραπίωνος γενομένου ὑπ[ομν]ημα(τογράφου) πρυταν(εύσαντος)
καὶ Σεύθου τοῦ καὶ Ὀρίωνος ἀμφοτέρων γυμνασιάρχων καὶ Θωνίου το[ῦ]
καὶ Θεογένους
ἐξηγητοῦ καὶ Κλαυδίας Ἡλιοδώρας θυγατρὸς Κανωπίωνος γεν[ο]μένου ὑπο-
μν(ηματογράφου) ἀπὸ

2 ∟ 4 l. Ζηναγένει, οξυρυγίτου 5 ὑπ[ομν]ημας' πρυτανς' 7 ὑπομνς'

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 11 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology XI, 1971), Appendix IV. When that note was written 3247 (inv. no. the same) was thought to be another piece of the same document but subsequent examination shows this to be wrong, though the hands are quite similar.

ζτεφάνου καὶ Τεχωσοῦτος τῆς καὶ Εὐδαιμονίδος θυγατρὸς Διδύμ[ου] τοῦ καὶ
 Εὐδαίμονος γυμ(ασιάρχ) βουλευτοῦ, τῶν πάντων τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμ(προτά-
 τῆς) Ὀξυρυγχ[ι]τῶν πόλεως,
 10 καὶ [τῶν κ]οινωνῶν. ἔστιν τ[ο]ίνυν, ἄριστε τῶν [στ]ρατ[ηγῶ]ν, χῶμα ἐν οἷς κε-

 9 γυμνῶ, λαμῶ

(1st hand) 'Year 14 and 13 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian Augusti and 6 of Constantius and Maximian the most illustrious Caesars [month and day]. (2nd hand) To Aurelius Zenagenes, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite from the Aurelii Horion also called Sarapion, formerly hypomnemato-graphus and prytanis and Seuthes also called Horion, both gymnasiarchs, and Thonius also called Theogenes, exegetes, and Claudia Heliodora daughter of Canopion formerly crowned (?) hypomnemato-graphus and Techosous also called Eudaemonis daughter of Didymus also called Eudaemon (ex-?) gymnasiarch, councillor, all of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, and their partners. Best of the strategi, there is a dyke [on our land . . .]'

2 It is difficult to be sure that this constitutes another date for the office of Zenagenes (IX 1204 is dated to A.D. 299) for two reasons: first, the reading of the date is not beyond doubt, though years 14 and 13 seem most likely; even if correct, it is not certain that this would necessarily refer to Zenagenes since the indentation of the lines following suggests that this dating clause may well be the end of a document. In texts of this kind it is common to find documents ranging over more than one year so the date of the petition to Zenagenes could be different. All that being said, however, the evidence of 3247 17 (same inv. no.) makes it probable that Zenagenes was in fact strategus in 298. There is a Zenagenes also in XVIII 2187 30 (A.D. 304), but he has no title.

3 If this date clause is the end of a previous document the month and day will have concluded this line.

5 The presidency of Aurelius Horion also called Sarapion was not previously attested.

7-8 ἀπὸ ζτεφάνου: see introduction.

10 For the form of address cf. P. Cair. Isid. 64. 4. The plural relative which follows χῶμα presumably refers forward to something in the lost portion. The sense seems likely to be something like: ἐν οἷς κε[κτῆμεθα ἐδάφει

3247. FRAGMENT OF A PETITION¹

31 4B.11/B(1-2)a

11.2 × 21.1 cm.

16 August, A.D. 298

On this papyrus are preserved the left-hand sides of 23 lines of a petition, written in a hand very similar to the second hand of 3246. To judge from what is missing of the date clause in line 22 the surviving portion represents little better than a third of the original piece. The back of the papyrus is blank.

Since so much is missing it is impossible to reconstruct the sense of the petition with any plausibility but the remains, which include three occurrences of the word ἀπαιτεῖν (10, 12, 13), suggest that the subject may have been the exaction of taxes. Perhaps the petitioner is complaining of having been subjected to exactions beyond the legal requirements. The addressee of the petition is probably the same as in 3246, the strategus Zenagenes.

¹ See footnote to 3246.

→ *Αύρηλ]ίω Ζην[αγένει*
] *Ἄρτεμίδωρος* [
 τ]ῆς *πριουάτης τοῦ κυρίου μου* [
τάξει ἀποκατασταθῆναι ὡς τὰ περὶ τοῦ .[
 5 *πρότερον Ἀκοντίου περὶ κώμην Μερμ[έρθα*
κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπουσίαν ὄντος περ[
ων Πασιώνος καὶ Ἀμμώγιος ἀμφότερο[ι
εἴκοσι ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ σύμβιος Κλαυδί[α
φορτία ἀρουρῶν τριῶν ἐκτεθείσης .[
 10 *σαρων ὁ τῶν ἀπαιτηθέντων ὑπὸ .[*
τακοσίας εἴκοσι. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐκάστου κεραμ[ίου
παιτῆσθαι ξέστας οἴνου χιλίου<ς> ἑξακοῦ[ίους
τούτους εἰς τὴν νῦν ἀπαιτουμένην .[
χιμαῖα γράμματα λάβωμαι κα[τε]πείγεσθαι [
 15 *.[.].[.].α. . . .[.].τα. . . .χας.[ἴ]να μηδέν σοι [*
στρατιώτην κατακελ[ε]ύσειν τοῦ . . .[
τα. (ἔτους) ἰδ' καὶ ιγ' καὶ σ' .[
μο. . . .οις οἴνου κεραμ[ι]
καὶ τούτων τὰ ναῦλα τῆς Θηβαῖδ[ος
 20 *κεράμια ἑκατὸν καὶ τούτων τ.[*
νος ὀφ(ικιάλιος?) ἐπάρχου οἴνου κεραμ[ι—
Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σε[ε]βαστῶν
Καισάρων, Μεσορῆ κγ⁻.

9 l. ἐκτεθείσης

19 θηβαῖδ[

1 Although there is only a very narrow bit of papyrus above this line there are no traces of ink and it seems probable that this was the first line of the document. The name of the strategus Zenagenes should certainly be restored here (cf. 3246). If he was in office in 298 (line 17) we may now extend his tenure of the post (cf. IX 1204, A.D. 299). The great width of the document will easily have accommodated the names of the addressee and the petitioner.

3 This must be a reference to the *magister rei privatae*, and, as such, will be the earliest occurrence of this office. The earliest known holder of the post was Pomponius Domnus who was in office in Thoth of 298 (P. Beatty Panop. 1. 120). Since the date of the present text is only a month earlier than that (cf. 17 n.) it is not unreasonable to suppose that his name will have occurred here. By A.D. 299 Pomponius Domnus appears to have become *rationalis* (IX 1204 12). The form of the reference will be something like: *τῆ τοῦ διασημοτάτου μαγίστρου τ]ῆς πριουάτης τοῦ κυρίου μου* [name] *τάξει.*

5 *Ἀκοντίου*. The name is not in *NB* or Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Papyrologicum Alterum*.

14 I am indebted to Dr. Rea for the suggestion that this should be restored as *ἀποχιμαῖα* (cf. *ἀπόχιμος* in P. Cair. Preis. 13; 13; 14. 13). *Addendum lexicis*, if correct.

16 There is no obvious explanation for the fact that this and the following lines are indented about 2 cm. But since it is clear that this line does not begin a sentence it can hardly be the start of a new document. *κατακελ[ε]ύσειν* could be interpreted as *κατὰ κέλ[ε]ύσειν* (l. *κέλευσιν*), in which case it might be followed by *τοῦ δια[σημοτάτου]*, i.e. 'according to the order of the most perfect . . .'. Either the name or the title of a high-ranking equestrian official would be suitable to complete the phrase.

17 The date is A.D. 297-8. Line 22 will also have contained a year date, preceding the month and day in line 23. When a papyrus contains more than one document the year dates need not necessarily be the same, but since there is no indication that this is the case here (see 16 n.) it seems probable that the date in 22 will have been the same as that in 17.

19 *ναύλα*: see O. M. Pearl, *TAPA* 83 (1952) 74-9.

22-3 See 17 n.

3248. FRAGMENT OF AN OFFICIAL DIARY¹

22 3B.14/C(4-7)b

7.0 × 9.5 cm.

Third century

This small scrap of papyrus contains the beginnings of lines of what must have been an interesting document. Unfortunately only part of the text, at the left-hand margin, has survived intact. The text consists of entries, arranged by date, referring to events of a public nature. Calendars containing lists of public festivals are known in the papyri, the most extensive Egyptian examples being XXXI 2553 and P. Osl. III 77. The present text, however, differs from these in two significant respects. First, it records events which apparently have no religious significance, e.g. a meeting of the town council (line 10); second, the entries are arranged under consecutive days at the end of Thoth and the beginning of Phaophi with no omissions, a special notation being used to mark blank days (lines 8-9). This is not paralleled in the religious calendars.

It seems most likely, in fact, that this is a fragment of an 'Amtstagebuch', of which the best known example is W. Chr. 41, recording the activities of a strategus. Other examples are PSI XIV 1444 and XLII 3072-4. The present text, however, does not seem to be concerned with the strategus. Perhaps the best clue to its nature comes in line 12 where *ὁ ἐξηγ[ητής]* is mentioned immediately after the date. Given the format of the document, this seems to support the idea that the official whose activities are recorded here was the exegetes, perhaps the president of the *κοινόν* of exegetae, or one of the *κοινόν* serving a term of duty on a rota. The entry in line 10 conforms with the theory that the town council met regularly on the last day of the month (cf. *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, 36).

The back of the papyrus contains the faded remains of three lines, mostly illegible, perhaps by two different hands, the first of which (*↓]τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱεροῖς []*) is separated from the others by a space of about 5 cm.

¹ Described as P. Oxy. ined. 24 in A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (American Studies in Papyrology XI, 1971), Appendix IV.

	→		·
			· . μ[.] . . [
			ἐν τε τῷ Σεβαστ[είω
		κς'	ἱεράς οὔσης [
			καὶ Καπιτω[
	5	κζ'	θεωρία ἐξ[
			τῷ θεάτρῳ [
			ἐπιτελεσθαι[
		κη'	οὐδὲν ὑπ[.] . . [
		κθ'	οὐδὲν ὑπ[
	10	λ'	νομίμης βουλῆς [
			(vac.) τῷ βουλευτηρί[ω
Φαῶφι		α'	ὁ ἐξηγη[ητής
		β'	ἱεράς οὔσης[
			οντος ἐν[
	15		] . . . τη . . [
			·

3 ἱερας 8 ὑπ[9 ὑπ[13 ἱερας

1 The traces of the first letter suggest pi, but the second does not favour, for example, πρμ[π]ῆς, which would fit the context.

2 For the Σεβαστεῖον at Oxyrhynchus see e.g. XXXI 2553 12. This entry is paralleled in XLII 3072 5:], ἐθύσεν ἐν τε τῷ Σεβαστεῖω[.

3 Cf. BGU II 362 iv 11.

4 A reference to the Capitoline games, first celebrated at Oxyrhynchus in the reign of Aurelian (BGU IV 1074. 10, P. Osl. III 85, cf. XLIII 3135)? In which case this text will date to the last quarter of the third century.

5 Perhaps ἐξη[γητοῦ should be restored here. For the duties of the exegetes see P. Jouguet, *La Vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine*, 315-18. On θεωρία see P. Osl. III 77. 18 n.

6 Cf. XLII 3072 3:]ξεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον κακεῖ τω[.

8-9 These entries presumably cover blank days. The phrase might be οὐδὲν ὑπάρχει or ὑπεμνηματίσθη *vel sim.*

10 Cf. the *Lex Palmyrenorum* (Abbot and Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*, no. 89. 6) which has the phrase νομίμου βουλῆς.

15 One is tempted to see a reference to the office of strategus here and the traces of the first few letters are consonant with a reading of σ]τρατη but the traces following cannot be made to fit gamma.

3249. NOMINATION TO A LITURGY

11 1B.145/C(b)

9.2 × 14.6 cm.

September-December, A.D. 326

This text was originally part of a *tomos synkollesimos*, but only a scrap of the document attached at the left has been preserved. This contains exiguous traces of the ends of three lines. The main text is complete at the top and the left margin, with only

a few letters missing at the right-hand side. The lost portion will have contained the name of the nominee, the date, and endorsement by the official. The back of the papyrus is blank.

The nomination is cast in the form usual for this period (cf. e.g. XXXIII 2675). It is sent to the logistes, Flavius Leucadius, by the systates, Aurelius Eustochius, and others. It names a man who will perform the duty of guarding the temple of Hadrian for a period of one year. Although liturgies are known in connection with other temples in Oxyrhynchus, this particular one probably differs slightly from the other examples because in the fourth century the temple of Hadrian is known to have been used as a prison (see 12 n.).

Of greater interest is the fact that this text supplies more evidence to disprove the theory of Mertens (*Les Services de l'état civil*, 41-3) that the systates could be reappointed every third year. The present systates, Aurelius Eustochius, is now known to have been in office in A.D. 317/18 (XXXIII 2675), 326/7 (this text) and 337/8 (I. 86 10-11 cf. VIII 1116 5 note). It is even doubtful whether a minimum of two clear years between appointments (cf. XXXIV 2715 introd.) is still possible, see XLIII 3137 3-4 n. It must be admitted that our knowledge of the functioning of the liturgical system in the fourth century is still scanty and the evidence so far has not brought to light any significant regularities in this period (cf. A. K. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, Appendix II).

- ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμ[ῶν] Κωνσταντίνου
 Ἀγούστου τὸ ζς' καὶ Κωνσταντίου τοῦ [ἐπιφανεστάτου
 (vac.) Καίσαρος τὸ ας'.
- Φλαοῦιω Λευκαδίω λογιστῇ [᾽Οξυρυγίτου
 5 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Εὐστοχίου Κοπ[ρέως] συστάτου
 τῆς νυνὶ λιτουργούσης φυλῆς [.
 καὶ ἄλλων ἀμφόδων καὶ Παρίω[νος]. . . . [. . . .
 χωτου Θεοδώρου καὶ Τι[μο]μοθέου Εὐλ[ογ]ίου καὶ Θω[ο]ίου
 Φιλαίου καὶ Πτολεμαίου Κυβανού καὶ [. . . .
- 10 Θεοδώρου τῶν πάντων ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πράς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης)
 ᾽Οξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως. δίδομεν εἰς λειτο[υργίαν]
 πρὸς θύραις δημοσίου Ἀδριανίου ἐφ' ἐνια[υτὸν]
 ἓνα ἔτι ἀπὸ νεωμηγίας Θῶθ [ἕως Μεσορῆ]
 ἐπαγομένων πέμπτης καὶ ἀ[ν]τήης πέμπτης
- 15 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους κα' ια['] γ' τὸν
 ἐγγεγραμμένον ὄντα ἐπιτ[ή]δειον πρὸς τὴν
 χρείαν. (vac.) ἔστι δὲ Αὐρ[ή]λιος

2 l. Ἀγούστου κωνσταντ'ίου 10 λαμς και λαμς 12 l. ἐπ' ἐνια[υτὸν] 13 l. νεομηγίας

'In the consulship of our lords Constantinus Augustus for the seventh time and Constantius the most illustrious Caesar for the first time. To Flavius Leucadius, curator of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelius Eustochius son of Copreus, systates of the tribe . . . and other quarters currently performing liturgies and Parion . . . son of Theodorus and Timotheus son of Eulogius and Thonius son of Philaeus and Ptolemaeus son of Silvanus and [Terentius] son of Theodorus, all from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites. We present for liturgy at the doors of the public Hadrianeum for a period of one year now from the beginning of the month of Thoth until the fifth epagomenal day of Mesore and including that fifth day of the present year 21, 11, 3, the man herein named who is fit for service. And he is Aurelius . . .'

2-3 The consulship of Constantine Augustus (VII) and Constantius Caesar (I) fell in A.D. 326. The regnal year in line 15 is A.D. 326-7 (cf. note).

4 This attestation extends the term of office of Flavius Leucadius from A.D. 325 (I 52) into the autumn of A.D. 326. His name can now be restored in 3265 (inv. 3 1B.77/B(3)b). Flavius Thennyras was in office in 327-8 (I 83).

5 The restoration of *ευστάτου* is guaranteed by name and circumstances. Eustochius is known from XXXIII 2675 and I 86 10-11 (cf. VIII 1116 5 n.). See introduction.

6 The name of the tribe is lost, cf. XXXIV 2715 5-6.

7-10 I find no other example of a systates associating other people with him in a presentation for a liturgy, but the *κοινόν* of systatae appears in XLIII 3137 (A.D. 295), cf. the *κοινόν* of laographi in XXXVIII 2855.

9 The surviving letters at the end of the line are difficult to read. They look like *τερην* and I propose *Τερην[τίου]* as a variant on *Τερεντίου*.

12 Whilst it is true that guards are attested for temples of Thoeiris, Serapis, and Isis (I 43 verso iv 16, ii 7, 14, XIV 1627 12), the fact that the temple of Hadrian at Oxyrhynchus appears to have been used as a prison in the fourth century (XVII 2154 13-14) suggests that we are dealing with a warder. This is confirmed by P. Harr. 65. 8 (cf. *BL*. III, p. 77). We might compare the *προσθυραίων λογισηρίου Ὀξυρυγχείτου* in XLIII 3104 8-9 (cf. S.P.P. III 84. 1, 77, P. Iand. III 37. 4).

15 Since the consulship is that of A.D. 326 (see 2-3 n.) and the regnal year is A.D. 326-7 the date of the papyrus falls between Thoth and Tybi of 326. The nomination therefore appears to postdate the beginning of the office (cf. XXXIII 2675 n.).

V. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

3250. FREIGHT CONTRACT

34 4B.74/K(1-2)a

15 × 18.5 cm.

c. A.D. 63

The papyrus, blank on the back, is complete except at the foot though there is minor damage along the vertical lines resulting from the original folding. It contains a freight contract, examples of which are rare in the first century of the Roman period. In form it follows the usual pattern, cf. P. Lond. III 948, p. 219 (A.D. 236) = Meyer, *Juristische Papyri*, 43; the abstracts in P. Ross. Georg. II 18 (A.D. 140); II 276 (A.D. 77); P. Lond. II 256, p. 99 (A.D. 15) = W. Chr. 443.

The contract is drawn up at Oxyrhynchus between Anoubas, skipper of a ship (under the orders?) of M. Cornelius Torullus, centurion, and Polytimus, slave of C. Norbanus Ptolemaeus. The charter is for the return trip between Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis, from which 500 artabas of aracus are to be transported to Oxyrhynchus. Anoubas undertakes to do this for a freight charge of 28 dr. per 100 art., the total being 140 dr., and to transport free of charge a further 12½ art. per 100 art., making an extra 62½ art. and a full load of 562½ art. For the legal background see C. H. Brecht, *Zur Haftung der Schiffer in antiken Recht*.

The main point of interest lies in the details. The stipulation of the entire responsibility of the skipper for the safety of the cargo has often been supposed to have come into use after the first century, see 20 n. Similarly the clauses regarding the rules of navigation specified in the contract are of interest (20-4). Some of these clauses were known to us from a later date (P. Ross. Georg. II 18, A.D. 140) and were thought to be peculiar to a period of civil disturbances (A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 413). It is perhaps reasonable to suggest that there was an official code of navigation on the Nile, and that the contractors quoted the relevant clauses according to the circumstances. This is at least borne out for the early Ptolemaic period by the royal ordinances (P. Hibeh II 198. 111 seqq.), which prohibit navigation by night and in a storm. These two rulings are closely echoed in the present document (22-3).

The date is suggested by Rea on the probability that C. Norbanus Ptolemaeus is the person who was iuridicus and idilogus in A.D. 63, see P. Fouad 21. 5, BGU V § 50 134, XI 2059 ii 1.

- ἐναύλωσεν Ἀν[ο]υβᾶς Ἑρμίου τῶν ἀπὸ Ὑφαντῶνος τοῦ Ἑρμοπολείτου
Πέρσης τῆς ἐπ[ι]γρονῆς κυβερνήτης τῆς Μάρκου Κορηλίου Το-
ρούλλου ἑκατοντάρχου κκάφης ποταμίας ἀγωγῆς ἀρταβῶν
πεντακοσίων Πολυτίμω Γαῖου Νορβανοῦ Πτολεμαίου
5 τὴν δηλουμένην κκάφην σὺν τῇ ναυτείᾳ, εἰς ἣν καὶ ἐμβαλεῖ-

ται ἀφ' ὧν ἐὰν αἰρήηται τοῦ Ἑρμοπολείτου νομοῦ ὄρμον ἄρακος
 μέτρῳ Ἀθηναίου ἀρτάβας πεντακοσίας καὶ τῶν ἑκατὸν
 ἀρταβῶν ἀναυλι ἀρτάβας δέκα δύο ἡμῖς, ὥστε ἀποκατα-
 τῆσε εἰς Ἀκανθῶνα καὶ Λιλῆ τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχείτου, ναύλου τοῦ
 10 διεσταμένου πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν ἑκατὸν ἀρταβῶν
 ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν εἴκοσι ὀκτώ, ὥστ' εἶναι δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν
 τεσσεράκοντα, ἀφ' ὧν ὁμολογεῖ ὁ Ἄνουβᾶς ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ
 τοῦ Πολυτίμου ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων δραχμὰς ἐβδομήκοντα
 δύο. τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς τοῦ ναύλου δραχμὰς ἐξήκοντα ὀκτῶ
 15 ἀποδότω αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐγβολῆς τοῦ ἄρακος. παραστησάτω
 οὖν τὴν σκάφην ἐτοιμὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀνάπλουν τῆ μιᾶ καὶ εἰκά-
 δι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ, καὶ γενόμενος
 ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἑρμοπολείτου ὄρμων καὶ ἀναλαβῶν καὶ πα-
 ραλαβῶν τὸν ἄρακα ἀποπλευσάτω ἀνυπερθέτως
 20 μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας, ἑαυτῷ παρεχόμενος ἐν τῷ ἀνά-
 πλω καὶ κατάπλω τὴν τῆς σκάφης χορηγίαν πᾶσαν ἐντελῆ
 καὶ ναύτας ἱκανούς, καὶ μὴ ἐξέστω αὐτῷ νυγτοπλοεῖν μηδὲ
 χειμῶνος ὄντος. ἀνορμίζω καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν
 ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσφαλεστάτων ὄρμων, τῶν διεραμάτων τοῦ
 25 Ἑρμοπολείτου ὄντων πρὸς τὸν Ἄνουβᾶν, τῶν δὲ τοῦ Ὁξυρυγ-
 χείτου ὄντων πρὸς τὸν Πολύτιμον. τὸν δὲ ἄρακα παρα-
 δότω τῷ Πολυτίμῳ ἢ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς Λιλῆ καὶ
 Ἀγανθῶνος ὄρμο(ν) μέτρῳ ᾧ ἐὰν παραλάβῃ, τοῦ ἐγβησομέ-
 νου ἐκ τῆς κοίτης ὄντος τοῦ Πολυτίμου ἢ ἀποτισάτω
 30 αὐτῷ τιμῆ[ν] ἐκάστη[ς] c. 25
]...[c. 25

6 l. ὄρμων
πλοεῖν

8-9 l. ἀποκαταστήσαι
23 l. ἀνορμίζω? (see n.)

11 l. ὀκτώ

28 l. Ἀκανθῶνος, ἐκβησομένου

15 l. ἐκβολῆς

22 l. νυκτο-

'Anoubas son of Hermias, from Hyphanton in the Hermopolite nome, Persian of the *epigone*, skipper of the river boat of 500 artabas burden of Marcus Cornelius Torullus, centurion, has chartered to Polytimus, slave of Gaius Norbanus Ptolemaeus, the aforesaid boat with her equipment(?), on which he will load, from whichever harbours of the Hermopolite nome he may choose, 500 artabas of aracus according to the measure of the temple of Athena, and for every 100 artabas 12½ artabas free of freight charge, so as to deliver (the cargo) to Acanthon and Lile in the Oxyrhynchite nome, at the freight charge agreed upon between them of 28 dr. of silver per 100 art., so that the total is 140 dr; of which Anoubas acknowledges that he has received from Polytimus on the spot 72 dr., but the remaining 68 dr. of the freight charge Polytimus is to pay to Anoubas on the unloading of the aracus.

Therefore Anoubas is to provide the boat ready for sailing up the river on the 21st of the present month of Sebastus, and having arrived at the harbours of the Hermopolite nome, and after having embarked and received the aracus, he is to sail away without delay, with all security, supplying for himself on the journeys up and down the river full and complete supplies for the ship and sufficient crew. He is not to be permitted to sail by night nor (to weigh anchor?) in foul weather (and?) he is to lay up daily at the safest harbours, the tenders at Hermopolis being at the expense of Anoubas, but those at Oxyrhynchus at the expense of Polytimus. Let Anoubas deliver the aracus to Polytimus or his representatives at the harbour of Lile and Acanthon, using whatever measure he receives by. Whatever shall emerge from the hold is to belong to Polytimus or Anoubas shall pay to him as the price of each (artaba)'

1 On Hyphanton see P. Sarap. 80 (= P. Amh. I 131) 12 n. Delete from LSJ, therefore, the common noun ὑφαντών.

2 Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς. For different views of this designation see *Aegyptus* 43 (1963) 15–53, *YCS* 18 (1963) 1–129.

2–3 Τορούλλου. Strict transliteration produces a Roman cognomen Torullus, not to be found in PIR¹ or in Schulze, *Zur Gesch. lat. Eigennamen*. It may be a new name or there may be some aberration in the Greek version.

4 Πολυτίμω, κτλ. It is probable that this form of words indicates that Polytimus was the slave of C. Norbanus Ptolemaeus, not his freedman, see H. Chantraine, *Freigelassene u. Sklaven im Dienst d. röm. Kaiser*, 170, cf. *BICS* 17 (1970) 140.

At the end of 4 there is a horizontal filler sign, as also in 10. At other line ends the finials are prolonged to fill out the space.

5 ἐν τῇ ναυτεία. Information on ναυτεία is scarce, see P. Rev. (Bingen) 85 6, SB V 8299 17, P. Mil. Vogl. III 189 16. The present case may indicate, as Turner suggests, that it means the equipment necessary for a ship to sail.

6 On ἄρακος or ἄραξ see M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 185–9, *Papyrologica Lugd. Bat.* XI 8. 11 n.

8 ἀναυλί is explained in Suidas—ἀναυλεῖ χωρὶς ναύλου—but is otherwise, seemingly, new. It is noteworthy that the additional unpaid load brings the total to 562½ art., while the stated burden of the boat is only 500 art. No instance of the actual load exceeding the stated burden is remarked in Merzagora, *Aegyptus* 10 (1929) 135–40. The artaba is a measure of volume, one important factor in loading a boat. The next most important factor would be weight. Probably the burden was calculated on an ideal load of grain, while aracus as a green leguminous plant would be less dense and less heavy. If space could be found, therefore, it was probably safe to carry a greater volume of it than the official calculation of the burden.

9–11 For rates of transport charges see A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 407, O. M. Pearl, *TAPA* 83 (1952) 72 seqq.

12–15 It was usual that the freight charge should be paid partly in advance and partly on delivery, cf. P. Ross. Georg. II 18, P. Lond. III 948.

16 The date is equivalent to 18 September, or 19 September in an Egyptian leap year.

20 μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας. This is more evidence to disprove the *argumentum ex absentia* that such clauses were a second-century innovation, Schwartz, *BIFAO* 47 (1947) 188 and n. 4. It is also found in late Ptolemaic documents, SB V 8754 18 (49/8 B.C.).

20–1 ἐαυτῷ παρεχόμενος . . . ἐντελῆ. See also P. Ross. Georg. II 18, P. Lond. III 948.

22–3 ἀνορμίτω. At first sight this appears to represent ἀνορμείτω from ἀνορμεῖν, *addendum lexicis*, but probably the copy is defective here, since something has to be understood with χειμῶνος ὄντος. Perhaps the scribe jumped from one sequence of letters to another similar one, e.g. μηδὲ χειμῶνος ὄντος ἀνορμι<ζέτω. καὶ ὄρμει>τω, etc. 'nor is he to weigh anchor in foul weather. And he is to lay up each day in the most secure anchorages.' If genuine, ἀνορμεῖν ought to mean 'to weigh anchor', like ἀνορμίζειν, not 'to drop anchor', in spite of the specious English equivalent 'to lay up'. In that case a jump by the scribe would be even easier—μηδὲ . . . ἀνορμείτω. <καὶ ὄρμειτω> κτλ.

For the rest cf. similar wording in P. Ross. Georg. II 18 vi 33, commentary pp. 108–9.

24 διεραμάτων are small boats, see Cl. Rev. 19 (1969) 91–2, Procopius, *Aed.* VI. 1, 3, with Downey's note in the Loeb edition, p. 363, n. 2. Cf. XXXI 2568 16 n.

3251. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF INDEBTEDNESS

22 3B.14/G(7-10)b

14 × 15 cm.

Second/third century

An acknowledgement of indebtedness in duplicate on the same sheet by the same hand. Only endings of the lines survive in col. i. What is printed is the text of col. ii.

The acknowledged debt is incurred through arrears of farm rents. As in XXII 2350, the tenure has now expired, and what we have is in effect a deed of loan in kind and money. Only the name of the lessor—and now creditor—is known from ii 13. He is a certain Theon, who is addressed as a former high priest of the temple of Hadrian at Oxyrhynchus. As in 2350 (see introd.) the debt is free of interest, if paid within a specified term, but if overdue it incurs an interest which serves as a fine (17 n.).

In form it follows the general pattern, e.g. P. Merton III 110, P. Strasb. 143, 2350, XXXI 2566, P. Merton I 36 (for future farming).

The handwriting is closest to R. Seider, *Paläographie*, no. 38 (A.D. 201-2) and M. Norsa, *Scrittura documentaria*, tav. 13 (c. A.D. 215). The eleventh year mentioned in ii 12 might be of the reign of Severus, A.D. 202/3. Other possible years are 11 Marcus (= A.D. 170/1), and 11 Severus Alexander (= A.D. 231/2). Even 11 Gallienus (= A.D. 263/4) is not ruled out. The back is blank.

.

→].ιϵ.[.....]..[
].του....θε.[...].εω.[.α]πὸ 'Ο-
 ξυρ[υ]γῶν πόλεως ἀρχιερατεύσαν[τ]ι
 τοῦ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει σεβασμιωτάτου
 5 Ἀδριανείου χαίρειν. ὁμολογοῦμεν ὁ-
 φίλειν σοι ἀπὸ τε φόρων καὶ ἐκφορίων
 ὧν ἐγεωργοῦμέν σοι ἔδαφῶν πυροῦ
 ἀρτάβας ἐννέα καὶ φακοῦ ἀρτάβας
 πέντε καὶ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν
 10 δώδεκα, [α]πὲρ πάντα ἀποδώσομέν
 σοι μέχρι τριακάδος Μεσορῆ τοῦ ἐνεστῶ-
 τος ἑνδεκάτου ἔτους, τὰ δὲ γένη μέτρῳ
 σοῦ τοῦ Θεώνος παραλημφθικῶ. εἰ
 δὲ μὴ ἀποδώμεν τῇ δηλουμένῃ προ-

3 -σαν[τ]ι confirmed by col. i
 twice in col. i

13 l. παραλημφθικῶ

4 At the end is a wedge-shaped filler sign, also to be seen

15 θεσμία, ταξόμεθά σοι τοῦ ὑπερπεσό(ν)-
 τος χρόνου διάφορον τῶν μὲν γενῶ(ν)
 ἐκ τετάρτου, τοῦ δὲ ἀργυρίου δραχμιαί-
 ον τόκον, γεινομένης σοι τῆς πράξε-
 ως ἕκ τε ἡμῶν ἀλληλεγγύων ὄν-
 20 των εἰς ἕκτεισιν ἢ ἐξ οὗ ἐὰν ἡμῶν
 αἰρή. κύρια τὰ γράμματα διςσὰ γρα-
 φέντα πανταχῇ ἐπιφερόμενα καὶ
 ].....

15 ὑπερπεσό

16 γενῶ

'(. . . to Theon . . .) of the city of the Oxyrhynchi, ex-high-priest of the most august temple of Hadrian in the same city, greetings. We acknowledge that we owe you from the money rent and rent in kind of your lands, which we used to farm, nine artabas of wheat, five artabas of lentils and 112 drachmas of silver, all of which we shall pay back to you by Mesore 30th of the current eleventh year. The debt in kind (will be paid) according to the measure used for payments to you, Theon. But if we fail to make restitution in the appointed time, we shall pay you for the time overdue a supplement in kind of one quarter and on the money interest at the rate of 1 dr. per mina. You have the right of execution either from us acting mutually as sureties for the payment or from any one of us whom you may choose. This deed is valid, written in duplicate, wherever it may be produced and . . .'

2 Possible would be *Θέω[ν]* *Θέων[ος]*.

5 Hadrian's temple in Oxyrhynchus is known from VIII 1113 5-6 (A.D. 203) and XVII 2154, of the fourth century, when the building was apparently used as a prison.¹ See also XXXI 2552, introd.

6 On *φόρος* and *ἐκφόριον* see J. Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, 98 seqq.

16-17 The term *διάφορον* is usually used for interest on loans in kind, while *τόκος* refers to money. The 25 per cent rate of interest is rare (XXXI 2566 ii 15). The usual interest on loans in kind was 50 per cent, see N. Lewis, *TAPA* 76 (1945) 126 seqq. The 25 per cent interest does not figure in his lists.

3252. DEED OF SURETY

31 4B.12/0(1-2)a

5.1 × 16.4 cm.

A.D. 257/8

This narrow piece of papyrus contains a deed of surety of no special significance. The papyrus is broken off at the foot. The back is blank except for an ink-mark. The content may be compared with M. *Chr.* 354-5 and P. Mich. IX 535, where further references are given.

The deed is addressed to Aurelius Sarapion also called Didymus, a former or current gymnasiarch of Oxyrhynchus, by Aurelius Hatres son of Petearpocrates from the Aphroditopolite nome. The latter agrees to provide surety for a slave named Eudaemon who belongs to Sarapion.

¹ Add 3249 12 above.

→ *Αὐρηλίῳ Σαραπίωνι*
τῷ καὶ Διδύμῳ
γυμνασιάρχ() τῆς
᾽Οξύρυγχειτῶν πόλ(εως)

5 *Ἀὐρηλίου Ἁτρῆς*
Πετεαρποκράτου
μητρὸς Τάννειτος
ἀπὸ κώμης Τμου-
νεψῆ τοῦ Ἀφροδει-

10 *τοπολείτου νομοῦ.*
ὁμολογῶ ἐκουσίως
καὶ αὐθαιρέτως
ἐγγυᾶσθαί σοι
δοῦλόν σου Εὐδαί-

15 *μονα ὃν καὶ παρα-*
στήσω μεχρὶ
Ἁθῆρ ᾽ἴ' τοῦ ἰσιόντος 5 (ἔτους),
εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐκτείσειν σοι
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀργυρίου

20 *δραχμὰς χιλίας*
ἑπτακοσίας ὡς ἐστά-
θη. καὶ περὶ τού-
του ἐπερωτηθεὶς
ὑπὸ σοῦ ὁμολόγησα.

25 *(ἔτους) εἴ' Αὐτοκρατόρω(ν)*
Καισάρων Πουπλίου
Λικινίου Οὐαλεριανοῦ
καὶ Π[ο][υπλ]ί[ο]υ [Λικι-

3 γυμνασιάρχ 4 οξύρυγχειτων πολ 17 ἰσιόντος 5, 1. εἰσιόντος 19 ὑπερ
 20 1. χιλίας 24 ὑπο 25 / ε" αυτοκρατορω

'To Aurelius Sarapion also called Didymus (ex-?) gymnasiarch of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, Aurelius Hatres son of Petearpocrates whose mother is Tanneis, from the village of Tmounepse in the Aphroditopolite nome. I agree voluntarily and of my own free will to stand surety to you for your slave Eudaemon whom I will produce up to Hathyr 10 of the coming 6th year, and otherwise I will pay to you for him one thousand seven hundred drachmas cash as was agreed. And in answer to

the formal question put by you about this I gave my assent. Year 5 of Imperatores Caesares Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius [Licinius Valerianus Gallienus . . .]

8-10 This village does not appear in the *Wörterbuch* or its Supplement or in the index to P. Lond. IV. On the status of the Aphroditopolite in this period see P. Beatty Panop. p. xxxiv.

28 The only example I have found of a papyrus of this year without a Caesar following Gallienus is P. Lond. III 1284 (descr.), so the name of a Caesar will almost certainly have followed here. The matter is more complex than this because there are two Caesars in this reign, Valerian the younger and Saloninus, whom P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures Impériales*, pp. 117-18 conflates. The latest certain dating by Valerian the younger is Choiak of year 5 (XIV 1649 3), the first certain one by Saloninus in Mesore year 5 (XXXI 2560 23). Since the month name here is missing we cannot tell which it will have been. (I am indebted to Mr. P. J. Parsons for the substance of this note.)

3253. LETTER OF ZOILUS TO HORION

36 4B.98/D(3-5)a

11.9 × 32.6 cm.

Third/fourth century

A business letter from Zoilus to his agent Horion concerned with action on information received from 'little' Pagenes. It is written across the fibres in a large and fluent late third- or early fourth-century hand. It is tempting to connect this letter with XVII 2142 and 2143 (A.D. 293), two orders for payment from a Zoilus to a Horion, and also possibly XII 1573, a tax-list of the late third or early fourth century which has the entry at line 13 *μερ(ιμοῦ) Ζωίλου δι(ὰ) Ὠρίωνος*.

On the back is the twenty-sixth column or sheet of accounts, of Phamenoth of an unspecified year. The edges were trimmed before the letter was written.

↓ Ζωίλος Ὠρίωνι τῷ φιλ(τάτῳ) χαίριν.
 Παγένης ὁ μικρὸς λογαρίδιόν μοι
 ἤνεγκεν τῆς περισυνῆ[ς] κατα-
 σπορᾶς ὅπερ σο[ι] ἔ]πεμψα. μετοξὺ
 5 οὖν αὐτῶν γενοῦ καὶ ὅπερ ἐὰν κατα-
 λάβῃς σύνφωνον ἀπ[ὸ] τοῦ λογα-
 ριδίου τοῦτο ἀπόλαβε καὶ ἄφες παρὰ
 σεαυτῷ ἔστ' ἂν δοκιμάσωμεν τί ὀφί-
 λει αὐτῷ τῷ μικρῷ Παγένι δο-
 10 θῆναι καὶ τί εἰς λόγον τῶν ὀφι-
 λομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τὸν οἶνον ὃν λαμβάνει ὁ ἀγροφύ-
 λαξ συνάξας ἄφες παρ[ὰ] σεαυτῷ
 ἔστ' ἂν τι κρίνωμεν. [κ]αὶ περὶ τού-
 15 του η. . ατο ὁ μικρὸς Π[α]γένης

1 l. χαίρειν
 Παγένει

2 l. μικρὸς
 10 f. l. ὀφει|λομένων

3 ηνεγ'κεν, 1. περυσινή[ς]
 12 l. λαμβάνει

8 l. ὀφείλει
 15 l. μικρὸς

9 l. μικρῷ

ὡς τινων πινώντων ἐν τῷ
 ἐποικίῳ μάλιστα Λου[. .]ν. μάθε
 οὖν καὶ ποιήσον ἀ[ὕτο]ις δοθη-
 ναι ὑπὸ Βησαρίωνος εἰς διατρο-
 20 φὰς ὀλίγα σιτάρια ἐπιδείξας
 αὐτῷ τὰ γράμματά μου.
 (m. 2) ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὖχομαι

16 l. πεινώντων

'Zoilus to Horion his dear colleague(?) greetings. Little Pagenes brought me the account of the last year's sowing, which I sent you. Mediate between them and what, if anything, you find agreed from the account, take it and keep it with you until we decide what ought to be given little Pagenes himself and what to the account of his debts. Furthermore, the wine which the field guard receives, collect it and keep it with you until we decide something. Also about this little Pagenes . . . that some were going hungry, especially in the settlement of Lu . . . s. Find out and see to it that a little grain is given them for food by Besarion, showing him my letters.'

(2nd hand) 'I hope you are well.'

1 *φιλ* is written without any mark of abbreviation. The likely expansion is *φιλ(τάτω)*, which is commonly used in letters between colleagues; *φίλ(ω)*, also possible, would imply a social rather than a business relationship. In XVII 2142 and 2143 the opening is *Ζωίλος Ὁρίωνι χαίρειν*.

2 *Παγένης*. The name is not very common, cf. *NB* and Foraboschi *Onomasticon* and none of those examples can be connected with this man. PSI VIII 890 mentions both a Pagenes who is an ἀμπελοργός and a Horion, but is probably too early.

12-13 Most mentions of agrophylakes are of Byzantine date. Then they were both public officials and private employees, see E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (New York, 1931), 64. However, they are mentioned at earlier dates in P. Lugd. Bat. XIII 6. 2 (first century A.D.), XVII 2122 11 (second/third century A.D.) and P. Princ. III 174 iii 6 (A.D. 260).

15 *ἡ . . . ατο* should mean said, told, reported, wrote.

16 *πινώντων*; l. *πεινώντων*. I have found no evidence for a general famine at the end of the third or beginning of the fourth centuries but no doubt there were local shortages, as at Oxyrhynchus in the mid-third century (XLII 3048 introd.).

17 *Λου[. .]ν*: *Λού[πο]ν* or *Λου[κί]ν* will fit. It seems better to translate 'some were going hungry, especially in the settlement of L', than 'some were going hungry in the settlement, especially L.' For the place name see perhaps P. Warren 10. 9 ὀρμώμεν[οι ἀπὸ ἐποικί]ν Λουκίου, cf. 23, VI 922 25, 998. All three are of the late Byzantine period.

19 *Βησαρίωνος*. The name is not uncommon, but none can be connected with this document.

VI. DOCUMENTS FROM THE ARCHIVE OF LEONIDES

3254–3262

Pliny describes an important and lucrative flax industry in Egypt, yet papyri have furnished very little information about flax or its cultivation beyond an occasional lease or inclusion of *τσιππεῖον* (tow) or *λινοκαλάμη* (flax) in accounts and bills of lading. One reason for this is that the most famous flax came from the area of the Delta, in which papyri have rarely survived. The following documents which give the first extensive evidence for flax production outside this area are the business transactions of one Leonides and his occasional partner Dioscorus whose activity near the villages of Antipera Pela and Ision Panga in the Oxyrhynchite nome spanned some twenty years (A.D. 315–334). The archive consists of nine new texts, six of which are leases, and three documents already published:

	3254	Sale of flax crop	A.D. 315
XXXI	2585	Lease of $2\frac{1}{2}$ arouras near Ision Panga	315
	3255	Lease of $6\frac{3}{8}$ arouras near Ision Panga	315
I	103	Lease of 1 aroura near Ision Panga	316
	3256	Lease of 13 arouras near Antipera Pela	317
	3257	Lease of 5 arouras near Ision Panga	318
	3258	Lease of ? arouras near Antipera Pela	319
	3259	Lease of ? arouras near Antipera Pela	319
	3260	Lease of 6 arouras near Antipera Pela	323
	3261	Letter to four meniarchs, including Leonides, about recruits	324
	3262	Receipt(?) written by Leonides as meniarch of a tow guild	328
PSI V	469	Lease of 14 arouras near Ision Panga	334

Although the majority of the texts are leases, it does appear that business was not limited to the growing of flax. The purchase of an already harvested crop by Leonides (3262), various references to stages in the processing of flax, and the address of 103 which gives Leonides and Dioscorus the title *τσιπποτυμητ(α)* all indicate that the men were merchants engaged in the preparation and marketing of linen fibre, tow, and perhaps linseed. Leonides himself was meniarch of a tow guild in 324 and 328, and if guild officials were selected like other officials at this time on their ability to assume financial burdens, then Leonides may have been a man of some affluence.

Processing:

The processing technique to which there are a number of references in these documents is essentially that which Pliny describes (*N.H.* XIX 16–17). The flax is harvested and allowed to dry, after which the seeds are removed and it is submerged in water until the stalks are sufficiently macerated to permit the inner fibres (linen) to be separated from the outer (tow). This softening process, known as water-retting, is mentioned in three documents: in 103 18 the rent will be paid in water-retted tow (τεταρι-*χευμένης*); so also in 3255 22 (σεενυβροχιμένης); and in 3256 the lessees contract to pay all the expenses up to and including the water-retting (ενυβροχιμοῦ) of the flax. Finally, the rent in PSI 469. 19 is to be paid in tow.

The over-all economic picture of early Byzantine Egypt which these documents present is in substantial accord with what is already known about the period. For example, a comparison of the rent prices of these leases with a flax lease from 306 (I 102) shows a rapid and inflationary increase. Further, all of the leases are short-term and most of them are contracted on the basis of rent-in-kind, a device which provided at least some protection against sudden inflation.

On flax growing in Egypt, see I. Kalleris, *αἱ πρώται ὄλαι*, 177 ff. and M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 203 ff.¹

3254. SALE OF FLAX

12 1B.143/K(31)a

9.8 × 24.6 cm.

312–15

Only the left-hand portion of this document remains, in two pieces which seem to join without loss of text in line 12. The lower part is much abraded, so that only the formulaic parts of the text can be recovered; the foot, with the subscription, is completely lost. The back is blank.

Aurelius Evangelus has sold the flax crop of one aroura to Leonides for a sum of 7 (or between 7 and 8) talents. The document is not the usual 'sale-in-advance', which acknowledges receipt of the price against a promise of future delivery, for example P. Hamb. 21 (see F. Pringsheim, *Greek Law of Sale*, 278). It states that the sale has been completed, and the price paid over. Comparable texts are P. Tebt. II 379 (A.D. 128: grass crop), P. Osl. II 45 (A.D. 135: acacia trees), VI 909 (A.D. 225: acacia trees), BGU II 456 (A.D. 348: palm trees); a similar transaction is implied in P. Osl. III 133 (second century: garlic). In at least three of these the purchaser is to harvest the crop himself (P. Tebt. 379. 8 f., 909 24 ff., P. Osl. 133. 14); similar conditions were made in 3254 16 ff., though the details are now lost. In this form, purchasing the produce is not very different from leasing the land: see Pringsheim 303 f. and 523 f. (note P).

¹ A list of published flax leases is given in *Collectanea Papyrologica*. Texts published in honor of H. C. Youtie, by A. E. Hanson. Part II (= PTA 20) No. 68 introd.

→ ὑπατίας τῶν δεσπ[οτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ
 Λικινίου Σεβασ[τῶν τὸ
 Αὐρήλιος Εὐάγγελ[ελος ἀπὸ
 κώμης Τήεως ἡ' [πάγου τοῦ Ὁξύρηνχίτου νομοῦ
 5 Αὐρηλίω Λεων[ίδη Θεώνος ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πράς) καὶ
 λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξύρηνχιδῶ[ν πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ
 πεπρακέναι σοι ἐντ[εῦθεν τὸν
 καρπὸν λινοκαλάμ[ης
 ἐνάτου καὶ . ' [] . . [. . .] . . . [. . .]
 10 κοινωνία ἐμοῦ καὶ
 τιμ[ῆς τῆς συμπεφ[ωνημένης πρὸς ἀλλήλους
] [.]
 Σεβασ[τῶν νομίμ[ατος
 ἄπερ [.] . . [.]
 15 περὶ ἧς ἀριθ[μῆσεως
 ἐφ' ᾧτε [.]
 . . .]ωντο μ[.]
 . [.] εἰς τὸ
 ἴδιον τελου[ν]τα δημόσια τε-
 20 λέςματα καὶ ἐπικλασμοῦ[ς καὶ ἐπιμερισμοὺς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
 ἔτους καὶ παντοίων χρ[.] γρα-
 φείσα καὶ ἐπερωτηθ(εῖς) ὡμ[ολόγησα.
 (m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Εὐάγγε[λος] πέπρακα τὸν καρπὸν ἀρού-
 ρης μιᾶς λινοκαλάμης καὶ ἀπέ[σ]χον
 25 τά]λαντα ἑπτὰ καὶ . . . [. . .]
 . . .] τελέσματα[.]

1 ὑπατίας

3 εὐαγ'γ[

6 λαμσ''

19 ἴδιον

22 ἐπερωτηθ

'In the consulship of our masters Constantinus and Licinius Augusti for the . . . time.

'Aurelius Evangelus . . . from the village of Teis in the 8th pagus of the Oxyrhynchite nome:

'To Aurelius Leonides, son of Theon, from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings.

'I acknowledge that I have sold to you henceforth . . . the produce in flax . . . ninth and . . . year (?) . . . held in partnership by me and . . . at the price agreed on . . . of the coinage of the Emperors . . . which (I have received from you in full), as to which payment (when the formal question was put I made acknowledgement) . . . on condition that . . . (taking the crop) for your own use, paying . . . the public taxes, and requisitions, and assessments of the current year. . . . The sale is incontestable, written in . . . copies, and in answer to the formal question I have made acknowledgement.

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Evangelus, have sold the produce of one aroura of flax and I have received . . . seven talents and . . .'

1-2 Licinius Augustus appears as junior consul, always with Constantinus, in 312, 313, and 315; the iteration figure must be supplemented accordingly as τὸ β', τὸ γ', or τὸ δ'.

4 η' [πάγου: for the location of Teis in the 8th pagus, see P. Giss. 115 introd.

7 Supplement, for example, ἐντ[εῦθεν εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, as at BGU II 456. 9.

9 ἐνάτου καὶ .': the final dash suggests that a numeral precedes, but I cannot read it with any certainty. After the dash, a short space which may originally have contained one letter but was more probably blank; then alpha, or the left half of pi or eta; then phi or rho. ἀρ[ούρης μιᾶς might be supplied from 23 f., so that 9-10 describe the land on which the flax is grown, owned, or leased in common by Evangelus and a partner (10 ἐπὶ] κοινωνία as, e.g., SB IV 7474. 3). If this is correct, there is no space for further numerals after ἐνάτου καὶ .'.
The numerals are likely to represent a regnal year. They may refer to the separate years of two or more emperors (there is room for a third numeral at the end of 8); or they might be combined as ἐνάτου καὶ ε' = 19 (rare but possible, see XXXVI 2765 2, ZPE 8 (1971) 230). The year may be that of the crop (as, e.g., P. Hamb. 21. 7); or possibly that of the original lease or purchase of the land. In theory the following years are available:

(a) δεκάτου καὶ] ἐνάτου καὶ β' = 293/4

(b) ἐνάτου καὶ ε' = 310/11 (19 Galerius, omitting colleagues)

(c) ἐνάτου καὶ ζ' = 312/13 (Maximinus and Constantine, omitting Licinius)

(d) ἐνάτου καὶ ζ' = 314/15 (Constantine and Licinius)

(e) ἐνδεκάτου καὶ] ἐνάτου καὶ α' = 316/17

Of these, (c) and (d) have to be eliminated, although they overlap conveniently the possible consular dates in 1-2. The scribe did not write ζ. Otherwise I judge that εζ' would be a good reading; α is possible, β (open-topped) conceivable. If we eliminate (e) on the ground that this sale of 315 or earlier is not likely to involve the crop of 316/17, (a) and (b) remain; if either is right, it must be taken as the date of Evangelus' purchase or lease.

14 e.g. τάλαντα x] ἀπερ [ἀπ' ἐντεῦθεν ἀ]πέ[σχον ἐκ πλήρους διὰ χειρός, cf. BGU II 456. 16 f., XIV 1705 9 f.

15 e.g. ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀμολόγησα, cf. XIV 1705 10 f.

16 Perhaps ἐφ' ὅτε εἰς τὴν Αὐρήλ[ιον Λεωνίδην.

18-19 Supplement on the pattern of, for example, XIV 1704 13 ff. καὶ ἀποφέρεσθαι [πάντα τὰ ἀπ' αὐτῶν περιε]σόμενα εἰς τὸ ἴδιον, τελούσας τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν κυλικῶν ἀρουρῶν δημόσια [τελέσματα καὶ ἐπικλα-
σμοὺς] καὶ ἐπιμερισμοὺς παντοίους.

21 παντοίων χρ[: I have found no real parallel to this phrase. In the context, παντοῖος would be expected to apply to one item in the list of charges to be paid, as at 1704 15. Perhaps something like παντοίων χρ[υσεικῶν ἐπιβολήν (but this use of χρυσεικά does not appear before the fifth century).

21-2 Supplement κυρία ἢ πρᾶσις ἀπλή (δικεή, etc.) γραφείσα.

25 Perhaps καὶ τρεξ[or καὶ τρετ[.

26 Perhaps δη]μόσια.

3255. APPLICATION FOR LEASE

12 IB.143/K(26)a

16.2 × 25 cm.

6 November 315

An *epidoche* in which Dioscorus, an occasional partner of Leonides (see I 103 and 3256), undertakes to lease 6½ arouras to be sown with flax. The rent on half of the acreage was to be paid in cash, the rent on the other half in kind. There is an interesting reference to the technical process of 'water-retting' in 22 σεκυμβροχισμένης (cf. I 103 18 τεταριχευμένης).

This text was first published, with commentary, in *Collectanea Papyrologica*. Texts published in honor of H. C. Youtie, by A. E. Hanson. Part II (= PTA 20) No. 80.

- ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν [ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικιννίου
(*vac.*) Σεβα[στῶν τὸ δ
Αὐρηλία Εὐτροπία θυγατρὶ [Θ]εοδώρου τοῦ καὶ Χαιρ[ήμο-
νος γυμ(νασιάρχῃσαντος) πρυ(τανεύσαντος) γενομ(ένου) βουλ(ευτοῦ)
τῆς [λ]αμ(πράς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρυγχιτ[ῶν
5 πόλεως (*vac.*)
παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Διοσκόρου Ἀμμωνίου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆ[ς πόλ(εως)].
έκουσίω[ς] ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι πρὸς μόν[ον τὸ
ένεστὸς ἰ' [κ]αὶ ης' ἔτος ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σοι περὶ τὸ Ἴ[σίων
Παγγᾶ ἐν περιχώματι Πέκτυ ἐν τόπῳ Τέλκε καλουμ[ένῳ
10 ἀρουρῶν δεκαέπτα κοινωνίας Πανάρους κατὰ τὸ τέταρτον
ὄγδοον μέρος ὃ ἐστὶ ἀρουραὶ ἐξ τέταρτον ὄγδοον [ἐκ γεωμε-
τρίας εἰς[πορ]ᾶν [λι]νοκαλάμης καὶ τελείων ὑπὲρ φόρου τῆς μὲ[ν] ἡμικείας
ἐκάστη[ς ἀρούρης] ἀνὰ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τέσσαρ. σ ἀ[ν]τι δὲ φό-
ρου [τῆς λοιπῆ]ς ἡμικείας] ἡ[μ]ικοι μέρος τῆς ἐκβησομέ[νης
15 .ης λι[νοκαλάμ]ης, καὶ μὲ δ[ὲ] τ[ὸν] μεμισθωμένον ἀνθ' [ῶν παρέχω
σπερμ[άτων κα]ὶ ἥς ποιου[μα]ι γεωρ]γίας τὸ λοιπὸν ἡμισο[ι μέρος
καὶ ἐξ ὀλοκλήρου τ]ὸ λινοσπε[ρμον ἀ]κίνδυνα πάντα παντὸς [κινδύνου,
τῶν τῆς [γῆς δη]μοσίων ὄ[ντων] πρὸς σὲ τὴν γεοῦχον κυριεύ[ουσιν
τῶν καρπῶν] ἔως τὰ [ὀφ]ειλόμενα ἀπολάβη[ς]. βεβαιουμ[έ-
20 νης δὲ [μοι τῆς ἐ]πιδοχῆς ἐπάναγκες ἀποδώσω τοὺς φόρους
καὶ τὰ ἐκφόρια [τ]ὸν μὲν ἀργυρικὸν φόρον τῷ Παῦνι μηνὶ τῷ δὲ
ἐκφόριον τῆς λι[νοκαλάμ]ης ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνου σεσυβρ[ο]χι[σμένης
τα ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ἀνυπερθέτως, γεινομένης σοι
τῆς πράξεως παρά τε ἐμοῦ ὡς καθήκει. κυρία ἡ ἐπιδοχῆ
25 καὶ ἐπερ[ωτ]ηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα.
ὑπατεία[ς τ]ῆς προκειμένης (m. 2) Ἀθῦρ ι.
Αὐρηλία Εὐτρόπιον δι' ἐμοῦ Πτολ[
ἔχον τούτου τὸ ἴσον.

3 *ευτροπια* corr. from *ευτροπιον* 4 *γυμς πρυ- γενομς βουλ*^λ, *λαμς*, *λαμς* 8-9 ἰ[σίων] *παγγα*
12 l. *εἰς σπορᾶν, τελείων* 13 l. *τέσσαρα* 14 l. *ἡμισυ* 16 l. *ἡμισυ* 20 l. *ἀποδώσω*
24 *ως καθ-* overwritten on something now illegible

'The 4th consulship of our lords Constantinus and Licinius, Augusti.

'To Aurelia Eutropion, daughter of Theodorus, also styled Chaeremon, ex-gymnasiarch, ex-prytanis, former senator of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites:

'From Aurelius Dioscorus, son of Ammonius, from the same city:

'Of my own free will I undertake to lease for the current 10th and 8th year only, from your possessions around the village of Ision Panga in the embankment of Pekty in the *topos* called Telke, a three-eighths portion from the seventeen arouras held in partnership with Panares, which is six and three-eighths arouras by survey, for sowing flax, and to pay as rent on half (of the land) four talents of silver per aroura and instead of rent on the remaining half a half share of the crop that is produced: and I, the tenant, in exchange for the seed I provide and the work I do (take) the remaining half share and all the seed; the whole being guaranteed without risk, the taxes to devolve upon you the landowner who retain possession of the harvest until you receive your due. If the undertaking is confirmed to me, I shall necessarily pay the money rents and the rents-in-kind—the cash rent in the month Payni and the rent-in-kind from the flax that has been water-retted in the basin . . . of the current year, without delay. You have the right of execution on me as is proper. The undertaking is incontestable and in answer to the formal question, I have given assent.'

'The aforesaid consulship (2nd hand) 'Hathyr 10. I, Aurelia Eutropion, have received the duplicate of this through me, Ptol. . . .'

3256. APPLICATION FOR LEASE

12 IB.143/K(25)a

12.1 × 16.2 cm.

A.D. 317/18

An *epidoche* written along the fibres of a medium-brown sheet of papyrus; a small portion of the upper and left margin is preserved, but the document breaks off after the terms of the agreement are set out. Leonides in partnership with Dioscorus (see I 103, 3255) wishes to lease 13 arouras from Aurelius Heron to sow flax. The rent is a half share of the resulting crop.

→ *Αὐρηλίω Ἡρωῶν[ι] τῶ καὶ Καρ[α]πίωνι ἀπ[.]λο[.]*
γυμ(νασιάρχῃσαντι) πρυτ(ανεύσαντι) τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) [καὶ
λαμ](προτάτης) Ὀξυρυγχειτῶ[ν πόλ(εως)
παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Διοσκόρου Ἀμ]μωνίου καὶ Λ[ε]ωνίδ[ου
Θέωνος ἀμφοτ[έ]ρω[ν ἀπ]ὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.
 5 *έκο[υ]σίως ἐπιδεχόμεθα μισθώσασθαι πρὸς μ[ό-*
νον τὸ ἐνεστὸς ιβς'' καὶ [ις'' κ]αὶ βς'' ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρ-
χόντων σοι περὶ Ἀντιπέρα Πέλα ἐκ τοῦ Νικοβίου
κλήρου ἀπὸ ἀρουρῶν εἴκοσι ἐξ τὰς ἐν ἀ<να>παύσει οὐσας
ἀρούρας δεκατρίς εἰσπορὰν λινοκαλάμης, ἐφ' ᾧ ἀντὶ
 10 *φόρου σὲ τὸν γεοῦχον ἔχει[ν ἐν] ἐξερέτω λινοκαλάμης*
ἄρουραν μίαν· τῶν ἐτέρων ἀρουρῶν δώδεκα ἔχει(ν)
σὲ τὸν [α]ὐτὸν γεοῦχον ἡμῶν τῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν περι-
γυνομένης λινοκαλάμης, καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς μεμι-
θωμένους ἀνθ' ἧς ποιούμεθα γεωργίας καὶ ὧν
 15 *παρέχομεν σπερμάτων καὶ ἀναλωμάτων πάντων*

2 γυμ] πρυτ, λαμ], λαμ]]
 11 ἐχετ̄

6 ὑπαρ-
 14 θ of ανθ corr. from τ

8 1. ἐν ἀναπαύσει

9 1. εἰς σπορὰν

10 1. ἐξαι-

μ]έχρις κεροῡ συνβροχισμοῦ τῆς λινοκαλάμης καὶ
 αὐτοῦ τοῦ συμβροχισμοῦ τὸ λο[ι]πὸν ἡμις μέροσ
 μετὰ καὶ τοῦ περιγινομένου σπέρματος ἐξ ὀλοκ[λή(ρου)
 ἀκίν]δυνα πάντα παντὸς κινδύν[ου, τῶν] τῆ[ς] γῆς

20

]..[...]. . . [

16 I. καιροῦ συμβροχισμοῦ

'To Aurelius Heron also called Sarapion, (former *logistes*?), ex-gymnasiarch, ex-prytanis of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites:

'From Aurelius Dioscorus, son of Ammonius, and Aurelius Leonides, son of Theon, both from the said city:

'Of our own free will we undertake to lease for the current 12th, 10th, and 2nd year only, from your property around Antipera Pela, being part of the allotment of Nicobius, of twenty-six arouras the thirteen arouras which are lying fallow, to be sown with flax; on condition that, in lieu of money rent, you the landlord receive one aroura of flax as a special payment; of the other twelve arouras you the said landlord receive half of the resulting crop and we the tenants, in compensation for the work we do and the seed and all the other expenses we incur up to the time of the retting of the flax and during the retting itself, receive the remaining half-portion along with the resulting seed complete, the whole being guaranteed without risk . . .'

1 απ[.]λο[.][: in theory a patronymic might be read, e.g. Ἀπ[ολ]λογ[ένου]. But there are more attractions in ἀπ[δ]λογ[ιστῶν]. We might then identify Aurelius Heron-Sarapion with Valerius Heron-Sarapion, *logistes* in 308-9 (XXXIII 2666 1 n.). J. G. Keenan has plausibly suggested that holders of the *logisteia* in this period took the name Valerius as a tribute to the imperial house (*ZPE* 11 (1973) 44-6). If the identification is correct, we must assume that Heron's new name was surrendered or forgotten when he left office.

7 Ἀντιπέρα Πέλα: XXVII 2473 16 n.

10 ἐξέρετρο: J. Herrmann, *Bodenpacht*, 115.

16 μ]έχρις suits the spacing better than ἄχρις; χωρίς suits neither traces nor sense. P. Cairo Isid. 74. 6 [τὰ τῶν ἀρουρῶν] ἔργα πάντα μέχρι τῆς {τε} συνκομιδῆς κτλ.

συνβροχισμοῦ refers to the process of 'water-retting', see general introd. p. 130.

20 The small traces can be fitted to the normal formula: write, for example, δημοσ]ων [δντ]ων[ν
 πρὸς ἐπὶ τὸν γεοῦχον.

3257. APPLICATION FOR LEASE

12 1B.143/K(4)a

15.6 × 24.8 cm.

10 November 318

An *epidoche* written along the fibres of a medium-brown, rather coarse sheet of papyrus. The original vertical folds have occasioned considerable wear and twisting of the fibres. The back is blank.

Leonides together with Ammonius, the son of Copres, wishes to lease 5 arouras of land near Ision Panga. The rate of 3 talents, 1,000 drachmas per aroura is somewhat less than that stipulated in XXXI 2585 (A.D. 315).

→ ὑπατείας τῶ[ν δεσ]ποτῶν ἡμῶν [Λικιν]νίου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ες'' καὶ Κρίσπου
 [τοῦ ἐπι]φανεστάτου [Καίσαρ]ος τὸ ας''
 κληρονόμοις [. . . .].ως Οὐαλερίου δ[ιὰ Μ]ατρίνου κηδεμόνος
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίων [Λεω]νίδου Θέωνος καὶ Ἀμμωνίου[ν] Κοπρέ[ω]ς ἀμφ[οτέ]ρω(ν)
 5 ἀπὸ τῆ[ς] λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως. ἐκουσίως ἐπιδεχό-
 μεθα
 μισθῶσα[ς]θαι πρὸς μόνον τὸ ἐνε[στώ]ς ιγς''ιας''[γ]ς'' ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων(ν)
 αὐτοῖς περὶ τὸ Ἴσιον Παγγᾶ ἐν περιχ[ώ]ματι Νέσλα ἐκ γεωμετρία[ς] ἀρού-
 ρας πέντε οὔσας πρότερον Θωνίου Νέου καλουμένου[ν] εἰσπορὰν λινοκα-
 λάμης καὶ τελείων σοι ὑπὲρ φόρου ἐ[κά]ςτης ἀρούρης [ἀ]νὰ ἀργυρίου ταλάν-
 10 των τριῶν καὶ δραχμῶν χιλίων [ἀ]κίνδυνα πάντ[α] παντὸς κινδύ-
 νου τῶν τῆς γῆς δημοσίων καὶ [ἀ]ννων[ῶν] ὄντων πρὸς ὑμᾶς το[ῦ]ς
 γεούχους κυριεύοντας τῶν καρπ[ῶν] ἕως τὰ ὄφι[λόμ]ενα ἀπολάβη[τε].
 β[ε]βαιουμ[ε] [. . . .]. . . .]ης δὲ ἡμῖν[ν] τῆς ἐπιδοχῆ[ς] ἐπ[ἀ]ναγκα[ς]
 ἀ[π]οδώσωμ[εν] τὸν ἀργυρικὸν φ[ό]ρ[ον] ἐν δυὶ μην[ε]σὶ Ἐπειφ καὶ[
 15 τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους ἀνυπερθέτως γινομένης ὑμῖν τῆς πράξεως
 παρὰ τε ἡμῶν ἀλληλεγγύων ὄντων εἰς ἕκτισιν ὡς καθήκει. κυρία
 ἡ ἐπιδοχὴ καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες ὡμολογήσαμεν.
 ὑπατείας τῆς προκ(ειμένης) Ἀθῦρ ιδς'. (m. 2) [Ο]ὐαλέριος Ματρίνος
 δι' ἐμοῦ Διονυσίου ἐ<ς>χον το[ῦ]του τὸ ἴσον.

1 ὑπατείας	4 ἀμφ[οτέ]ρω	5 λαμ'', λαμ''	6 ὑπαρχοντῶ	7 ἴσιον παγγ'γα
8 l. εἰς σπορὰν	9 l. τελείων ὑπερ	9-10 l. τάλαντα τρία, δραχμὰς χιλίας		11 ὑμας
14 l. ἀποδώσωμεν	15 ἀνυπερθετως, ὑμιν	16 ἀλληλεγγύων	l. καθήκει	18 προκ
19 ἴσον				

'In the consulship of our masters Licinius Augustus for the 5th time and Crispus the most noble Caesar for the 1st time.

'To the heirs of . . . , son of Valerius, through Matrinus the executor :

'From Aurelius Leonides, son of Theon, and Aurelius Ammonius, son of Copres, both of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites :

'Of our own free will we undertake to lease for the current 13th, 11th, and 3rd year only from their holdings around Ision Panga in the embankment of Nesla five arouras by survey, which formerly belonged to Thonius, called Young, for the sowing of flax ; and to pay you as rent three talents and one thousand drachmas of silver per aroura ; the whole being guaranteed without risk, the taxes and annonae to devolve upon you the landlords who retain possession of the produce until you shall receive your due. If the undertaking is confirmed to us, we shall of necessity pay over the money rent in the two months Epeiph and . . . of the same year without delay. You have the right of execution upon us who are a mutual surety against payment as is proper. The undertaking is incontestable and in answer to the formal question we have given assent.

'14th day of Hathyr of the aforesaid consulate.' (2nd hand) I, Valerius Matrinus, have received the duplicate of this through me, Dionysius.'

8 Νέου: [. . .]νεου would also be possible, with space for one narrow letter. Otherwise the reading is certain : not νεω(τέρου).

11 [ἀνω]γῶν: cf. P. Lond. III 979. 18 f. (p. 234).

13 β[ε]βαιουμ[ε] can be read at the beginning, but there is a gap with space for 7–8 letters before]ηc. Either poor papyrus forced the scribe to leave a space, or he has (for example) written μενηc twice. No other variation of the *bebaisis*-clause will account for the letters which remain or the position of δέ.

14 Ἐπειφ καὶ[: the last word should be a month-name, but the writing is difficult and perhaps in part a correction. Payni and Epeiph are normally specified, see D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen z. Bodenpacht*, 22–4. Here, however, Παῦνι is not an acceptable reading, nor indeed did the scribe have any reason to reverse the usual order. Within the one year of the lease only Mesore and Epagomenai remain. Of these, Μεσορ[ή] might perhaps be read (the initial mu is very plausible); but I should have expected to see more of the tail of rho.

15 f. γινομένης ὑμῖν τῆς πράξεως παρά τε ἡμῶν: the formula is similarly shortened in XXXI 2585 18 f. (see the note) and 3255 24.

16 κυρία: see Hässler, *Die Bedeutung d. Kyria-Klausels*, 28 ff. The clause ‘will der Urkunde absolute Beweiskraft verleihen’ (Wolff, *SZ* (RA) 90 (1973) 373, who discusses possible English translations of κυρία).

18 Ἀθὺρ ιδ: 10 November 318.

3258. APPLICATION FOR LEASE

12 1B.143/K(27)a

13.2 × 7.0 cm.

A.D. 319

The document is an *epidoche* in which Leonides leases an unknown quantity of land from Aurelius Dius for the current year. The land is near Antipera Pela (see 3259, 3256). The back is blank.

→ ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Αὐτοκράτορ[ο]c
 τὸ ες'' καὶ Λικινίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ [αδ]''
 Αὐρηλίῳ Δίῳ Ζωίλου ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πρᾶc) καὶ λα[μ(προτάτης)] Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτῶν)
 (vac.) πόλεως (vac.)
 5 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Λεωνίδου Θεώνος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.
 ἐκου[ρί]ως ἐπιδ[έ]χ[ο]μ[αι] μισθ[ώ]σα[ι] προ[δ]ο[ν] μόνον τὸ ἐνε-
 στ[ό]c ιδς''ιβς''δς'' [τὰc ὑπαρχούσα]c σοι πε[ρὶ] Ἄντ[ι]πέρα [Πέλα

1 ὑπατείας 3 ζωίλου, λαμς', οξυρυγχ'

‘In the consulship of our masters Constantinus Imperator for the 5th time and Licinius the most noble Caesar for the 1st time.

‘To Aurelius Dius, the son of Zoilus, from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelius Leonides, son of Theon, from the same city: Of my own free will I undertake to lease for the current 14th, 12th, and 4th year only from your holdings around Antipera Pela . . .’

7 [ιδς''ιβς''δς'']: the space will permit three dates or two dates linked with καί; the former is more probable (see 3257 6). There is not room for ἔτος to be written out. I have restored the year as ιδ–ιβ–δ, since these leases are usually drawn up within the first four months of the Egyptian year, i.e. near to the end of the consular year.

3259. LEASE OF LAND

12 IB.143/K(23)a

13.6 × 8.5 cm.

A.D. 319

The beginning of a *misthosis* written along the fibres of a papyrus that has been folded twice vertically and endorsed on the back. Aurelius Apollonius also styled Serenus agrees to lease land near Antipera Pela to Leonides. The terms are missing.

→ ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου
 Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε᾽ [καὶ [Λικ]ιγίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου
 Καίσαρος τ[ὸ α᾽].
 ἐμίθωσεν Αὐρηλίος Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ καὶ Σερήνος
 5 υἱὸς Ἀπολλωνίου ἀπ[.] οξ. ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς
 καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξ(υρρυχιτῶν) πόλεως
 Αὐρηλίῳ Λεωνίδῃ Θεώνος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως
 πρὸς μόνον τὸ ἐν[εστὸς ιδ᾽ ιβ᾽] δ (ἔτος) τὰς ὑπαρχούσας
 κοὶ περὶ [Ἀν]τιπέρα Ἰπέλα ἐν [.] ι Πρωτολε. . . λεγομένου
 10 α[.] εἰ[.]
 Back → μίθωσις[.]

1 ὑπατείας

5 υἱός

6 οξ'

8 ιδ'' ιβ'' δ''

'In the consulship of our masters Constantinus Augustus, for the fifth time, and Licinius the most noble Caesar, for the first time.

'Aurelius Apollonius alias Serenus son of Apollonius . . . from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites leased to Aurelius Leonides son of Theon from the same city for the current 14th, 12th, and 4th year only the (so many arouras) which belong to you near Antipera Pela in . . .'

Back. 'Lease . . .'

2 It would be palaeographically possible to read ζ (= A.D. 320) instead of ε (= A.D. 319), but the traces later in the line, though doubtfully assigned to individual letters of the name of Licinius Caesar, cannot be made to conform with that of Constantine Caesar, the junior consul of A.D. 320, and the date in 8 denotes the Egyptian year A.D. 319/320, which makes it virtually certain that the date of this lease is some time in autumn A.D. 319.

5 ἀπ[.] οξ. : either another name or a title. The initial letters are like ἀπ in the ἀπό which occurs later in this line: next a high curved stroke as if an abbreviation or possibly a tiny omicron ligatured to the preceding letter; then a pi-shaped letter (or letters) with the initial descender curving up sharply at the foot, followed by an abraded spot in which high traces and the tail of rho or iota can be seen. The next letter appears to be lambda or delta, followed by -οξω.

J. C. Shelton suggests reading the last seven letters as παρ[α]δοξω in error for παραδόξου (for the title see, e.g., P. Hamb. 21. 2-3), though παρα- seems rather too long for the space.

E. G. Turner suggests perhaps ἀπὸ παρ[α]δόξω<ν> on the analogy of ἀπὸ λογιστῶν, etc.

J. R. Rea tentatively suggests ἀπὸ τρη(ατηγῶν) Ὀξ(υρρυχίτου); (τρη'οξ' pap?). The ο of ἀπό, if right, is curiously, but not incredibly, misshapen. The next group would naturally be taken as εἰ, but τ is sometimes written here with the known ductus which puts the first half of the crossbar and the upright first and adds the second half of the crossbar separately. To read τ assumes that the second half of the crossbar is here lost in the damage. After οξ the impression of ω is chiefly produced by the hook on the foot of the ι of Ἀπολλώνιος above in 4. The title of ex-strategus of Oxyrhynchus would

apply to the father rather than the son. The known candidates would be the strategi of A.D. 287 (XIV 1690), A.D. 292 (I 59), and A.D. 316 (XVII 2113, 2114).

8 τὸ ἐν[εστὸς ἰδ'' ἰβ'' δ'': there is room to restore two regnal year numbers, cf. 3257 6.

9 *coi.* 3260 displays the same carelessness in pronouns.

ἐν.[...].ι Πρωτολε. λεγομένου. After ἐν there is a trace somewhat below the base line; likeliest possibilities are α, γ, ι, κ, λ, μ, ρ, τ, χ. After the gap there is a little round loop and some traces below to the right which may belong to the line below; ο, ρ?, ω possible. The pattern may be ἐν τόπω . . . λεγομένου (l. -ω), cf. 3255 9. The place name seems to be new. At the end of Πρωτολε. (or -ε.[.]) the last trace is the end of a horizontal, c best, υ possible. After ε there is a small rounded trace.

10 ἀ[π' ἀρουρῶν] εἴκ[οι vel sim.?

3260. SUB-LEASE OF LAND

12 1B.143/K(29)a

10.2 × 25.2 cm.

A.D. 323

A fairly well-preserved contract written along the fibres of a thick, dirt-encrusted papyrus, in which Gaianus sub-leases 6 arouras to Leonides for a one-third share of the resulting crop. This lease, like 3259, also a *misthosis*, quickly and bewilderingly shifts into the subjective style of the *epidoche*. The back is blank.

- το]ἰ[ε ἀ]ποδιχθησομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ γ'
 ἐμίσθωσεν Γαϊανὸς Ἀμμωνίου ἀπὸ
 ἐποικίου Χουτῆ ἡ πάγου τοῦ Ὁξ(υρυγχίτου) νομοῦ
 Λεωνίδῃ Θέωνος ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πράς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης)
 5 Ὁξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως πρὸς μόνον
 τὸ ἐνεστὸς ἡς ἰς'' ἡς'' ἔτος
 ἀφ' ὧν ἔχομεν ἐν μισθώσει περὶ κώ-
 μῃν Ἀντιπέρα Πέλα ἀρούρας ἕξ (γίνονται) (ἀρουραι) 5
 εἰς σπορὰν λινοκαλάμης ἐφ' ᾧ
 10 ἀντὶ φόρου ἔχειν εὐ τὸν μεμισθωκό-
 τα τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς περιγυνομέ-
 νης λινοκαλάμης καὶ με δὲ τὸν μεμι-
 σθωμένον τὸ λοιπ[ὸν] μέρος ἔχειν,
 ἐμοῦ τοῦ Λεωνίδου [ε. 10
 15 τὰ σπέρματα ἀκίνδυνα [παντὸς
 κινδύνου τῶν τῆς γῆς δημοσίων
 ὄντων πρὸς τὸν μεμισθ[ωκότα
 κυριεύοντα τῶν καρπῶν] ἕως τὸ
 τρίτο[ν] μέρος ἀπολάβῃς. β[εβαιου-
 20 μέν]ης δὲ τῆς μισθώσεως [ἐπάναγ-
 κ]εσ ἀποδώσω [τὸ τρίτο]ν μέρ[ος ἐν τῷ
 κ]αιρῷ ἀνυπερθέτως γινο[μένης σοι

1 ὑπάτοις

2, 28 γαϊανος

8 2—5

τ]ῆς πράξεως παρά τε ἐμοῦ [ὡς καθήκει.
 πανταδετα [
 25 [.].[.] τος. κυρία [
 ἢ μίσθωσις καὶ ἐπερωτηθ(εῖς) ὡμολ[όγησεν].
 ..επ π. ουτοαπ . . θ . . . [
 (m. 2) Γαιανὸς μεμίσ[θωκα τὴν
 γῆν καὶ ἔσχον τὸ ἴσον [τῆς μι-
 30 σθώσεως. Ἐπίμαχο[ς ἔγρα-
 ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμ[ματα
 μὴ εἰδότης.

31 ὑπερ

‘Under the consuls to be designated for the 3rd time.

‘Gaianus, the son of Ammonius, from the hamlet of Choute in the 6th (?) district of the Oxyrhynchite nome, leased to Leonides, the son of Theon, from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites for the current 18th, 16th, and 8th year only from those which we hold on lease around the village of Antipera Pela, six arouras, that is 6 ar., for the sowing of flax, on condition that, instead of money rent, you the lessor receive the one-third portion of the resulting flax crop and I the lessee receive the remaining portion—I, Leonides, [taking] the seed, being guaranteed against risk, the taxes on the land devolving upon the lessor who retains possession of the crop until you take the one-third portion. If the lease is confirmed, of necessity I will pay over the one-third portion at the appropriate time without delay, you having the right of execution upon me as is proper. . . .

‘The lease is incontestable and in response to the formal question he has given assent. . . .’

(2nd hand) I, Gaianus, have leased the land and have received a copy of the lease. I, Epimachus, wrote on his behalf since he is illiterate.’

1 το]ι[ς ἀ]ποδιχθησομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ γ’: A.D. 323. Cf. e.g. XLIII 3122 introd.

2 ἐποικίου Χουτῆς πάγου: Χουτῆ is unattested. The number of the district is broken, but stigma fits the traces better than epsilon or gamma.

14 ἐμοῦ τοῦ Λεωνίδου[: a participle, e.g. λαμβάνοντος or παρέχοντος, should be supplied. In these part-share leases the lessees supply as well as retain the seed (see 3255 16–17, 3256 15–18).

24–5 πάντα δὲ τὰ κτλ: a further condition? Perhaps about the disposition of labour, since there is no such clause in the earlier part of the document (cf. the other part-share leases, I 103 11–12, 3255 16, 3256 14), possibly on the lines of P. Cair. Isid. 103 15–17: τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀρουρῶν ἔργα πάντα ἡμῖς (ἡμεῖς) οἱ μισθούμενοι ποιήσομεν. In any case, this does not appear to be part of the *praxis*-clause.

27 From its place in the document, this should be a date (compare 3255 26, 3257 18); it is possible to read π. ου as προκ(εμμένης) but the traces before this do not really fit ὑπατείας τῆς, and after, the letters do not suit a month. The line appears to have been squeezed in after the subscription was written.

3261. CONTRACT CONCERNING RECRUITS

12 1B.143/K(12)a

25.8 × 22.8 cm.

A.D. 324

Four meniarchs, among them Leonides, have provided recruits on behalf of the signatories, who acknowledge liability for the expense by this contract. Most of the subscription is missing but part of the right margin, nearly as broad as the document itself, survives and bears at its top, apparently in the first hand, the acknowledgement of one of the subscribers.

The document gives no details of the assessment, though it does indicate that the service is compulsory, but it is tempting to conjecture that the guild as a whole has assumed the liability for which certain members were responsible. Compare, for example, XXXI 2579, in which a meniarh of a tow-workers' guild is paying the ἐπικεφάλαιον πόλεως on behalf of two of its members.

On recruiting in general see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* ii 615 ff., A. C. Johnson and L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt, Econ. Stud.* 215-18.

Of the two government officials mentioned the *praeses* Sabinianus is well attested, but the *dux* Barba is not otherwise known.

The back is blank.

- τοῖς ἐσομ[έ]νοις ὑπά[τοις] τὸ δ.
οἱ ἐξῆς ὑπογράφειν [μ]έλλον[τε]ς
Λεωνίδη καὶ Θέ[ων]ι καὶ Μ. . . .] καὶ
5 Καρμάτῃ μηνιάρχαις .[c. 5]
των χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ ἐπ[ε-]
βλήθημεν παρασχεῖν τίρω[νας]
νεολέκτους κατὰ κέλευσιν το[ῦ δια-]
σημοτάτου ἡμῶν ἡγε[μ]όνος
Καβινιανοῦ κατὰ πρόσταξιν [τ]οῦ διασημοτάτ[ου]
10 δουκὸς Βάρβα καὶ [πα]ρασχόντες
ὑμεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐνεγνήσασθαι διὰ
χιρογραφειῶν, κατὰ ταῦτα [ὁμολο-]
γοῦμεν τὰ πάντα ἀπαξᾶπλ[ῶς]
ἀναλώματα ὑποστῆναι, [ἔκα-]
15 στον κατὰ τὰ μέρη, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις
συνευδοκεῖν ἡμᾶς πᾶσι τοῖς
διαφέρουσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς τίρω[σι]
διὰ τὸ συνεπέσθαι κ[α]ὶ συν-
ευδοκεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις. κύρια τὰ
20 γράμματα ἀπλᾶ γραφέντα ἐπὶ ὑπο-
γραφῇ ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπερωτη-
θέντες ὡμολογήσαμεν.
ὑπατείας τῆς προκει[μ]έν[ης, c. 5] ιβ.

Right margin at top → Διόσκορος [.] ἰωνος εὐδοκῶ.

11 l. ἐνεγνήσασθε

14 ὑποστῆναι

18 l. συμπεπέσθαι

23 ὑπατείας

‘Under the consuls to be designated, for the fourth time.

‘Those about to undersign to Leonides and Theon and Matrinus(?) and Sarmates, meniarchs of the . . . greetings.

‘Since we were enjoined to furnish newly chosen recruits according to the order of our most perfect *praeses* Sabinianus (issued) in accordance with the command of the most perfect *dux* Barba and you furnished them and guaranteed them by deeds of surety, accordingly we agree to undertake all expenses whatsoever, each proportionately, and on these conditions we consent to everything pertaining to these same recruits, because we have agreed and consent on these conditions. The document, written in one copy over our subscription, is valid and in answer to the formal question we gave our assent.

‘In the consulship aforesaid, . . . 12th.

‘. . . I, Dioscorus son of . . ., consent.’

1 The date is A.D. 324, cf. c.g. XLIII 3122 introd.

3 *M.*: *Ματ[ρίνω]*? See 3257 3, 18. Compare also XXXIII 2673 (of A.D. 304), where the names Sarmates and Matrinus occur together. However, other names, e.g. *Μέλ[αν]*, could also suit the traces.

4 *μηνιάρχαις*. That all four men are meniarchs of the same guild is almost certain. Cf. VIII 1139 1–2 and O. Tait II 1986. 2, both documents addressed to several meniarchs of a single guild. The guild name is shorter than the word in 3262 1, certainly too short for *ς(τ)ιπποκογχιστῶν*, *ς(τ)ιπποπραγματευστῶν*, *ς(τ)ιπποτιμητῶν*, or *ς(τ)ιπποχειριστῶν*. Perhaps *σιππάτων* is possible, if *σιππαδες* implies *σιππάτες* in XXXI 2579 9.

9 *Καβινιανοῦ*. For collected references see PLRE I 789 s.v. Sabinianus (2).

10 If there was only one *dux* acting at this time in Egypt, see P. Abinn. p. 14, Barba was the *dux Aegypti et Thebaidos*; if not, he may have been *dux Aegypti* only. On Egypt’s military commands in the fourth and fifth centuries see R. Rémondon in *CLÉ* 40 (1965) 180–97.

24 [.] *ίωνος*. [*Ἄ*] *πίωνος* would suit the traces, but [*ᾠ*] *ρίωνος* would not. No doubt there are other less common possibilities.

3262. RECEIPT?

12 1B.143/K(30)a

24 × 9.4 cm.

A.D. 328

This badly abraded document is included because Leonides has written it himself, styling himself meniarch of a tow-linked guild. While the language suggests that the text may be a receipt for repayment of a loan, the exact nature of the transaction is obscure. The papyrus is of poor quality; the back is blank.

↓ *Κόμων[ι] νι[ῶ] Θωνίω Λεωνίδης μ[η]νιάρχης σιππ*
..[.]. χαίρειν. ἀφ’ ὧν ..[.]. ἀπὸ προτέρου λόγου [...
.....[.]. τεσσαράκοντα δύο ἡμικοῦ
..[.]. καὶ οὐδένα λόγον ἔχ[ε]ι[.] πρὸς οὐδενός. [χιρ] ἔχεις μου χίρα(ν)
 5 *κβ καὶ ιβ καὶ δ [ᾠ]πείφ τὸν πρότερον καὶ νῦν ἔσχηκα ταπ . . . νηδε*
γ]είνοντε δὲ τὸν πρότερον λόγον [.] γείνοντέ μου μωδίου μ . . .
(ἔτους) κβ’ καὶ ιβ’ καὶ δ’. ὁ αὐτὸς Λεωνίδης [ε]ση(μείωμαι).

1 νι[ῶ], 1. Θωνίου
 7 [ε]ση’

3 1. ἡμικυ

4 χιρā; 1. χεῖρα

6 μ of μωδίου corr. from δ

‘To Comon son of Thonius, Leonides meniarch of the tow- . . ., greetings. Of those which . . . from the former account . . . forty-two and one-half (modii?) and you (or he) have no claim of any kind. You have my chirograph (of?) the 22nd and 12th and 4th year, the former (account?), and

now I (or you) have received . . . My(?) total for the previous account is forty-. . . Year 22 and 12 and 4. I the same Leonides have signed.'

1 $\overline{\text{K}}\acute{\omicron}\mu\omega\nu[\iota]$: or $\overline{\text{K}}\acute{\upsilon}\mu\omega\nu[\iota]$. The latter is unattested.

$\text{c}\pi\pi\dots$: a guild obviously connected with tow. After the first four letters the traces appear to be oc or ot or possibly π , followed by a vertical descender like ι , then a semilunate shape ligatured to the previous vertical. The final letter appears to be omega with a line above which may represent a nu in suspension. These traces cannot be reconciled with the title on the back of I 103 (*στιπποτιμηταί*) or the guild name from 3261 4-5. It is just possible that Leonides wrote $\text{c}\pi\pi\langle\text{o}\rangle\pi\text{io}\omega(\nu)$ for $\text{c}\pi\text{πο}\pi\text{oi}\acute{\omega}\nu$, see XXXVI 2799 4, but the reading of omicron is very doubtful.

2 \dots : at the end $\lambda\omega$ more likely than λou or μou . $\acute{\omicron}\phi[\epsilon\iota]\lambda\omega$, $\acute{\epsilon}\chi[\epsilon\iota]\mu\text{ou}$, $\acute{\epsilon}\chi[\epsilon\iota\text{c}]\mu\text{ou}$, are all possible readings.

3 $\tau\epsilon\varsigma\varsigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$: cf. 6.

4 \dots : perhaps $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ or $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$.

$\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\ \kappa\tau\lambda$. This version of the usual phrase is curious. $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\delta\epsilon\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ can be explained as a conflation of e.g. $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \kappa\acute{\epsilon}\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\delta\epsilon\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, but the normal verb form $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$ cannot be read. The trace, which extends below the break, is clearly from iota, therefore $\acute{\epsilon}\chi[\epsilon]\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\chi[\epsilon]\iota[\text{c}]$, or $\acute{\epsilon}\chi[\epsilon]\iota[\nu]$ was written.

The most reasonable possibility, $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\text{iv}$, is unlikely because the space is insufficient for a letter the size of nu. See also on $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\eta\kappa\alpha$ in 5 n.

$\chi\iota\rho\bar{\alpha} = \chi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha(\nu)$, I. $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha$, in the sense of $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\omicron}\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omicron\nu$. It is not clear whether Leonides thinks of the present document as the chirograph or is referring to some previous document.

5 $\kappa\beta$ και $\iota\beta$ και δ : 22nd year of Constantine, 12th of Constantine II, 4th of Constantius II.

[E] $\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\phi$: between 25 June and 24 July A.D. 328.

$\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$. The punctuation is uncertain; either this goes with the preceding date, presumably as an accusative of respect (see Mayser II 2. 326 ff.), or it belongs with the subsequent $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \nu\acute{\upsilon}\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\eta\kappa\alpha$, though how it fits in is unclear.

$\acute{\epsilon}\chi\eta\kappa\alpha$: or $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\chi\eta\kappa\alpha\varsigma$. The final traces are broken and the bits may belong to alpha or $\alpha\varsigma$. If $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\eta\kappa\alpha$ is correct, then Leonides has received a payment and the $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ clause should be phrased in the normal fashion, i.e. $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\ \lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega\ \kappa\tau\lambda$. To read $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\chi\eta\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ (and with it $\acute{\epsilon}\chi[\epsilon]\iota[\text{c}]$ in 4) one must assume that Leonides has written a receipt in the second person for a payment he himself is making.

6 In view of the other textual peculiarities in this receipt, it may be that Leonides has merely repeated himself in this line and that one $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ should be deleted.

For μou read probably μoi , though since the μ of $\mu\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\varsigma$ has been corrected from δ , it may be that he wrote $\mu\omicron\upsilon\delta$ as a false start for $\mu\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\varsigma$ and did not correct efficiently.

$\mu.\acute{\iota}$. From line 3 one might expect $\mu\beta$ ($\acute{\eta}\mu\text{ic}\nu$), and that may be correct. However, the second figure looks most like ϵ and the third figure or symbol has an oblique descender at the left which is not easily reconciled with the usual signs for $\frac{1}{2}$, viz. ζ and L .

VII. MINOR TEXT

3263. Monthly report of village scribe. 31 4B.16/C(1-3)c. 8 × 17 cm. A.D. 215. Compare XLIII 3133 for this type of text and the parallels. This one has been referred to in XXXVIII 2876 14-16 n. and in XLV 3243 2 n. for the name of the strategus, who here as a result of the Constitutio Antoniniana bears the nomen Aurelius in addition to Calpurnius.

→ ¹ *Αὐρηλίω Καλπουρνί[ω] Γ[ι]δ[ώ]ρω* ² *τῶ καὶ Ἄρποκρατίων[ι] στρ(ατηγῶ)*
Ἄρσι(νοίτου) ³ *Θεμ(ίςτου) καὶ Πολ(έμωνος) μερίδων* ⁴ *παρὰ Αὐρηλί[ο]υ Ἐρ[.].ο()*
⁵ *κωμογρ(αμματέως) Ἀπόλ[λω]ρος πόλεως* ⁶ *καὶ Ψιντεώ. (vac.)* ⁷ *δηλῶ μηδὲν ἔχιν*
⁸ *ἀνῆκον σημᾶναι* ⁹ *ταῖς τοῦ ἰδίου λόγου καὶ* ¹⁰ *ἀρχιερέως ἐπιτροπαῖς* ¹¹ *τοῦ Μεσορή*
μηνὸς τοῦ ¹² *διεληλυθότος κγ (ἔτους). (vac.)*

Back ↓ (m. 2?) ¹³ *Ἀπο[.].Ψιντεώ,* ¹⁴ *Μεσορή*

2 *στρς, αρς!*(?) 3 *θεμ, πολ* 4 *ερ[.].ο* 5 *κωμογρς* 7 *1. ἔχεν* 12 *κγ^τ*

‘To Aurelius Calpurnius Isidorus alias Harpocraton, strategus of the Arsinoite nome, departments of Themistes and Polemon, from Aurelius (Hermaeus?, Hermon?, Hermas?), village scribe of Apollonopolis and Psinteo. I declare that I have nothing to report relating to the procuratorships of the *idios logos* and of the high priest for the month of Mesore of the past 23rd year.’ Back (2nd hand?) ‘Apollonopolis and Psinteo, Mesore.’

4 Obvious, but unconfirmed, possibilities are *Ἐρμ[α]ίσο(ν)*, *Ἐρμ[ω]γο(ς)*, *Ἐρμ[ᾶ]το(ς)*.

5-6 For the village names see P. Tebt. II pp. 368, 412.

9-10 *ταῖς . . . ἐπιτροπαῖς*. This supports the view that the departments of the *idiologos* and the high priest were not united till a late date, if ever, see P. Swarney, *The Ptolemaic and Roman Idios Logos*, pp. 133-4.

11-12 The report is for Mesore of 23 Caracalla, otherwise 25 July-29 August A.D. 215. The date of writing must be after 29 August, the last day of this leap year, but should be within a few days of it.

After 12 there is blank papyrus to a depth of c. 5 cm., but the bottom margin is torn. Date clause and subscription are expected; they may possibly have been written further down.

13 The sense requires something like *Ἀπόλ[(λωνος πόλεως) καὶ] Ψ*.

VIII. TEXTS FIRST PUBLISHED ELSEWHERE

3264. Declaration about Bribery. Published by A. K. Bowman in *Collectanea Papyrologica*. Texts published in honor of H. C. Youtie, by A. E. Hanson. Part I (= PTA 19) No. 21. 30 4B.35/L(1-2)a. 9·8 × 16·4 cm. A.D. 80-1

¹ [...].[.....].² Ἐρμοφίλω [.....].[.....].³ παρὰ Ὀρσε[ν]οῦ[φ]εως τοῦ Διοσκό[ρο]υ καὶ Ψ[ο]c-⁴ νέως τοῦ Ψεν[με]νιος καὶ Πε[ν]ν[άμ]εως⁵ τοῦ Ἀμεινέως [τῶ]ν σὺν ἄλλο[ι]c π[ρ]εcβυ-⁶ τέρων κώμης Π[ε]εννῶ τῆς μέξης το-⁷ παρχίας. πρὸς τῷ ἐπιδοθὲν Κλαυδίω⁸ Ἡρακλείω στρατηγῷ ὑπὸ τε ἡμῶν καὶ⁹ τῶν συνπρεc[β]υτέρων ἀναφόριον κα-¹⁰ τὰ Διογένουc[] χωματ[]επιμελητοῦ¹¹ περὶ τοῦ εἰληφέναι αὐτὸν παρὰ ἀν-¹² δρῶν πεν-¹³ τήκοντα ἐνὸς ἐκ (δραχμῶν) δὲ εἰς¹⁴ τὸ μὴ ἐργάσασθαι αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ δημό-¹⁵ τια χώματα τὴν πενταναυβίαν¹⁶ καὶ περὶ τοῦ διεσκεπακέναι αὐτ[ὸν]¹⁷ ἄλλους ἀνδρας ἐννέα ὁμοίως¹⁸ εἰς τὸ μὴ ἀπεργάσασθαι, ἐπιζητή-¹⁹ σαντός σου τ[ὰ] ὀνόματα τῶν προγε-²⁰ γραμμένωc[] ἐδηλώσαμεν ἀπὸ τού-²¹ των ὀνόματ[] ἀνδρῶν δεκατρι-²² ῶν οἱ καὶ ἐ[]γράπτως προceφώνη-²³ σαν τῷ στρατ[]ηγῷ μηδὲν δεδωκέ-²⁴ ναι αὐτοὺς μ[]τε τῷ Διογένει μηδὲ²⁵ τοῖc αὐτοῦ μηδ' ἄλλω τ[] ὑπὲρ τοῦ²⁶ μὴ ἐργάσα[] εἰς τὰ χῶ[]ματα ἐπι-²⁷ ζητοῦντος δέ σου τὰ τῶν λοιπῶν²⁸ ὀνόματα ἀποφαινόμεθα²⁹ ὀμνύτ[]ε τὴν Αὐτοκράτορος³⁰ Τίτου Καίc[] Οὐεcπα[]μανοῦ³¹ Σεβαστοῦ τύχην μηδὲν δύναc-³² θαι ἀποδειξαι [] τῶν διὰ τοῦ προ-³³ κειμένου ἀναφορίου δεδηλω-³⁴ μένων. εὐορκούcι μ[] ἡμῖν³⁵ εἶ, ἐπι[]κοῦcι δὲ [τὰ ἐνα]ντία.³⁶ (ἔτους) γ Αὐτοκράτορ[]ος Τίτου Καίcαρος³⁷ Οὐε[]cπα-³⁸ cια[]οῦ Σεβαστοῦ.....

12 § 33 l. ἡμῖν 35 Lγ

'To Hermophilus . . . from Orsenouphis, son of Dioscorus, and Psoseus, son of Psenmeinis, and Pennamis, son of Amenneus, the elders, amongst others, of the village of Peenno in the middle toparchy. Further to the petition handed in to Claudius Heracleius the strategus by us and our fellow elders against Diogenes the superintendent of the dykes about his taking from fifty-one men four drachmas each for their non-performance of the five-naubia duty on the public dykes and having covered up similarly for nine other men in respect of their failure to complete their work, in response to your demand for the names of the aforementioned, we presented the names of thirteen men from among them who reported in writing to the strategus that they had not given anything to Diogenes or to his agents or to anyone else to avoid work on the dykes; but in response to your demand for the names of the others we declare on oath by the fortune of Emperor Titus Caesar Vespasianus Augustus that we are unable to produce any of the names indicated in the aforementioned petition. May it be well for us if we swear truly, but the reverse if we swear falsely. Year 3 of Emperor Titus Caesar Vespasianus Augustus (month and day).'

3265. Declaration by Glassworkers. Published by A. K. Bowman in *Collectanea Papyrologica*. Texts published in honor of H. C. Youtie, by A. E. Hanson. Part II (= PTA 20) No. 81. 3 1B.77/B(3)b. 15.3 × 25.7 cm. June/July A.D. 326

Col. ii

→ (m. 1) Ὑπατείας τῶν δεσπ]οτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνστα-
 τίνου <Αὐγούστου> τὸ ζ' καὶ Κω]νσταντίου τοῦ ἐπιφανες-
 τάτου Καίσαρ]ος τὸ α'. (vac.)
 Φλαουίῳ Λευκαδί]ω λογιστῇ Ὁξυρρυχίτο]υ
 5 παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶ]ν ὑελουργῶν τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς)
 καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξ](υρρυχιδῶν) πόλεως δι' ἐμοῦ Αὐρ[η-
 λίου Ζωίλου]. ἐπιζητοῦν[τί
 σοι λόγον πά]γτων τῶν ἀν[η-
 κόγ[τ]ων τῇ ἡμετ[έρα τέ]χνη εἰς χρεῖαν [ἐπι-
 10 κκε[υ]τῆς θερμῶν δημοσίου βαλανίου τῆς
 πόλεως ἀναγκαίως ἐντάξας ἐπιδίδ[ωμι
 ἔν' εἰδέναι ἔχοι σοῦ ἢ ἐμμέλια· ἔστ[ι δέ·
 εἰς χρεῖαν θερμῶν λουτρῶν (vac.) κεν[τ(ηνάριον)] . . .
 εἰς χρεῖαν ξυστοῦ (vac.) κεντ[(ηνάριον)] . . .
 15 ὡς τοῦ κεντ(ηναρίου) α (τάλαντα) κβ·
 γί(νονται) κεντ(ηνάριον) ξ, γίν(ονται) (τάλαντα) Ἄτκ·
 ἄπερ προσφωνοῦμεν. (vac.)
 ὑπα]τείας τῆς προκ(ειμένης) (vac.) Ἐπε[ιφ] . . .

(m. 2) Αὐρήλιος] Ζωίλος ἐπιδέδωκα

20 ὡς πρόκει(ται)

4 οξυρρυχίτο]υ 5 λαμδ 6 οξ]·² 11 αναγκαιως 12 ἔν 14 κεν^τ
 15 κεν^τ, Γ 16 γι κεν^τ ξ γιν^τ Γ Ἄτκ 18 προ^κ 20 προκ(ε)

(1st hand) 'In the consulship of our masters Constantinus Augustus for the seventh time and Constantius the most illustrious Caesar for the first time. To Flavius Leucadius logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome from the guild of glass-workers of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites through me, Aurelius Zoilus In response to your demand for an account of all the matters affecting our profession relating to the service of fitting out the warm baths in the public bath of the city, I have perforce drawn it up and submit it in order that your grace may be able to know. It is: for the work needed on the warm baths, x hundred pounds; for the work needed on the gymnasium, x hundred pounds; at a rate of 22 talents per hundred pounds. Total 6000 pounds, total 1320 talents. Which we accordingly report. In the aforementioned consulship, Epeiph . . . (2nd hand) I, Aurelius Zoilus, have presented this as set out above.'

3266. Acknowledgement of a Loan. Published by A. K. Bowman in *Collectanea Papyrologica*. Texts published in honor of H. C. Youtie, by A. E. Hanson. Part II (= PTA 20) No. 82. 31 4B.10/E(1-2)a. 25.3 × 14.2 cm. 13 August A.D. 337. This contract is written in duplicate on a single sheet of papyrus. The texts are identical with

the minor exceptions noted in the apparatus and apart from the fact that the line divisions do not correspond.

Col. i

- Ὑπατείας Φλαουίου Φιλικιανουῦ καὶ Φαβίου Τιτιανουῦ
τῶν λαμπροτάτων, Μεσορῆ κ'. (vac.)
Αὐρηλίος Εὐλόγιος Λεοντέως μητρὸς Εὐσεβίας ἀπὸ
τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρρυχειτῶν πόλεως Φλαουίῳ Ἄννια-
5 νῶ πρωτήκτορι διὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἑρακλήου πραγματευ-
τοῦ χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ σοῦ εἰς λόγον
πραγματίας διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου σου ἀργυρίου Σεβαστῶ(ν)
νομίσματος τάλαντα πεντακόσια, (τάλαντα) φ', κεφαλαίου
ἐπὶ τῷ με ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰροῦντός σοι μέρους τῆς τού-
10 των ἐπικερδείας τελέειν σοι καθ' ἕκαστον μῆνα
ἀπὸ] τοῦ ἐξῆς μηνὸς Θῶθ τοῦ εἰσιόντος λβ' κβ' ιδ' ε γ (ἔτους)
ἀργυρ]ίου τάλαντα δέκα καὶ τὸ προκείμενον κεφάλαι-
ον ἀ]κίνδονον ὃν παντὸς κινδύνου καὶ ἀνυπόλο-
γον π]αντὸς ὑπολόγου ἐπάναγκες ἀποδώσω
15 σοι τ]ῷ Φαμενώθ μηνὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰσιόντος ἔτους
ἀνυπερθέτως. εἰ δὲ μή, ἐκτίσω σοι τοῦ ὑπερ-
πεσόντος χρόνου κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον ἀργυρί-
ου τάλαντα δεκαεξὶ καὶ δραχμάς τετρακισχιλείας
ἄχρ[ι ἀ]ποδόσεως τοῦ κεφαλαίου, γεινομένης
20 σοι τῆς πράξεως παρὰ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ-
χόντων μου πάντων. κύριον τὸ χιρόγραφον
δι[σ]κ[ο]ν [γρ]αφὸν κ[α]ὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁμολόγησα.

3 μῆ-, ii	4 λαμς και λαμς οξ', ii	1. Ὁξυρρυχειτῶν	7 1. πραγματείας. σεβαστω-
σεβαστων, ii	8 𐀀	10 1. τελέειν	11 λβ' κβ' ιδ' ε γ ς' λβ' κβ' ιδ' ες γς', ii
προκείμενον	18 1. τετρακισχιλίας	19 1. γινομένης	21 1. χιρόγραφον

'In the consulship of Flavius Felicianus and Fabius Titianus the most illustrious, Mesore 20. Aurelius Eulogius, son of Leonteus, whose mother is Eusebia, from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites to Flavius Annianus, *protector*, through Aurelius Heracleus, agent, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received from you from hand to hand out of your house to the account of my business a capital sum of five hundred talents in the coinage of the Augusti, talents 500, on condition that, instead of your proportionate share of the profit from this money, I shall pay to you each month from the next month Thoth of the coming year 32, 22, 14, 5, 3, a sum of ten talents and I shall perforce repay to you without delay in the month of Phamenoth of the same year the aforementioned capital sum free of all risk and not subject to any claims; otherwise, I shall pay to you in each month of the extra time a sum of sixteen talents and four thousand drachmas until the capital is repaid, with you having the right of execution upon me and all my property. The deed, of which two copies are written, is valid and in answer to the formal question I have given my consent. . . .'

INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small Roman figures to columns. References in square brackets are to words wholly supplied by conjecture or from other sources. References in round brackets are to words represented by a symbol. The asterisk indicates words not to be found in LSJ⁹ or its supplement. The article is not indexed, and *καί* is indexed in the literary sections only.

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS

(a) ALCMAN, ETC. (3209-3213)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>ἀγέρωχος 3209² 7?
 αγκα. [3211² 5.
 ἀγνός 3212 2?
 -ακολο]ύθως 3210² 11?
 ἄκρος 3209¹ 9.
 Ἀλκμάν (end-title) 3209¹ 12.
 ἀλλά 3211² 1?
 ἄλλος 3211² 1?
 ἀνήρ 3213 6.
 ἀνιέναι 3213 2.
 ἄοιδά 3212 3.
 ἀπαλός 3210² 26?
 ἀπό 3209¹ 8, 9.
 ἀρᾶσθαι 3213 5.
 Ἀρχίδαμος 3210² 3?, 6?
 Ἀσκαλαφ[3210³ ii 3.
 ἄτερ 3210² 10? 3212 2?
 ἀχώ 3209¹ 8.</p> <p>βαρύς (βαρεῖα) 3210² 27?</p> <p>γᾱ 3212 6.
 γαμο[3210² 11.
 γαμ[3209⁴ 3.
 -γαμία (-ος) 3211² 3?
 γάμος 3213 5.
 γέρας 3212 7?
 γῆ <i>see</i> γᾶ
 γλυκύς 3213 3.
 γράφεσθαι 3210² 10.
 γυνή 3213 6.</p> <p>δαικομ[(δαίνυσθαι?) 3211² 3.
 δέ 3209¹ 8 3212 1?, 3? 3213 3.
 δείδειν (δέδοικα) 3212 4.
 δή 3213 4?
 διά 3210¹ i 10, 12?
 δόμος 3209¹ 9.</p> | <p>δύνασθαι 3210² 19.
 δύο 3210¹ i 10 3213 3.</p> <p>*Εβρος 3209² 1?
 εἶναι 3210² 11.
 εἶς 3210¹ i 13?
 εἰς 3210² 16.
 ἐκ 3209² 10? 3213 2.
 ἐκείνος 3210⁴ i 2.
 ἐλπὶς 3211² 1.
 ἐπί 3212 6.
 ἐρατός 3213 [1], 5.
 εὐθύς (εὐθεῖα) 3210² 23?
 εὐθύς (εὐθύ?) 3209¹ 6.
 εὐνή 3213 7.
 ἔχειν 3213 2.
 ἔως 3210² 25?
 ἔωσφο[ρ- 3210² 25?</p> <p>-ζύγιος 3211² 4.</p> <p>ἡμέτερος 3210⁴ i 1.
 ἡχώ <i>see</i> ἀχώ</p> <p>θεῖος 3210² 23?
 θεός 3212 2?
 θυμός 3212 4.</p> <p>καί 3209² 7?, 3212 3?, 4 3213 6(<i>bis</i>).
 καλλίροος 3213 4.
 καλός 3209⁴ 5?
 (-)κλειζ.[3212 8.
 κλέος 3209¹ 3.
 κν[3209² 3?
 κνίσα 3210¹ i 15?
 κουρίδιος <i>see</i> κωρίδιος
 κ]υλινδρο[3210⁵ 7.
 κυν. [3209³ 1?</p> |
|---|--|

κῶμος 3211¹ 3?
 κωρίδιος 3213 7.

λέγειν 3210³ i 6?
 Λευκοθέα 3213 1.
 λήγειν 3210¹ i 11.

μακαρτ[3211² 4.
 (-)μάχεσθαι 3210³ i 7.
 μέλος (end-title) 3209¹ 14.
 μή (μήτε?) 3212 4?
 μόνος 3212 5?

νεβρός 3209² 1?

ὄ (dem.) 3209¹ 6? 3213 4, 6.
 ὄδε 3209¹ 6?
 ὄρθεία 3210² 23?
 ὄς 3213 6.
 ὄτε 3213 4?
 ὅτι 3210¹ i 16.
 οὐδέ 3212 2?

πανηγυ[ρ- 3210² 20?
 παρά 3210¹ i 16, 2 9.
 πάσχειν 3213 6.
 περί 3210¹ i 15?
 ποταμός 3213 4.

ῥητέον 3210¹ i 15.

Σαπφώ 3210¹ i 9, 12.
 εἶδη 3213 3.
 σκαίρειν 3209¹ 4.
 σπαρ[, Σπάρ[τας? 3209² 10 3210² 15?
 σ]τεφαν- 3211¹ 2?
 σύμφωνον 3210¹ i 11, 13.
 σύν 3210² 17.
 σφαιρο- 3210² 12?

τάσις 3210² 27?
 τε 3213 7.
 τελεῖν 3213 5.
 τέμενος 3213 1.
 τρυ. εα, Τρυ. εα 3213 2.
 τυγχάνειν 3212 1 3213 7.

ὕψηλός 3209¹ 8.

φάναι 3210¹ i 16.
 φερ[3209¹ 3.
]φωβω[3209³ 2.
 φῦλον 3212 8.
 φωνήεντα 3210¹ 10, [13].
 φω[σφορ- 3210² 24?

χάρμα [3213 7?].
 χρύσεος 3211² 5.

ψευδ[3210⁴ i 5.

(b) EURIPIDES, ETC. (3214-3216)

ἀλλάστος 3216 7.
 (-)αλλάσσειν 3215¹ 19.
 ἄλλος 3216 8?
 ἄλωτός 3216 23?
 ἄν 3214 11.
 ἀναξ 3216 10.
 ἀνήρ 3214 1? (bis) 3215¹ 18?
 Ἀντιγόνη (play) 3214 2?
 Ἀντιόπη (play) 3214 2?, 5.
 αὐτοῦ 3214 6.

βουλή 3216 8.

γάρ 3214 [3], [13] 3216 20.
 γίγνεσθαι 3215¹ 12.
 γινώσκειν 3215¹ 18.
 γυναικεῖος 3214 13.
 γυνή 3214 11.

δέ 3215¹ 5, 7, 9 3216 4, 6, 7.
 δεσπότης 3215¹ 16.
 δῆ 3216 26?
 δίδοναι 3215¹ 17.
 δίκαιος [3214 4].
 δόμος 3215¹ 4, 17.
 δόρυ 3216 17.
 δοῦλος 3215¹ 4, 11.
 δῶμα 3215¹ 6.

ἐγώ 3214 1?, [3], 10 3215¹ 17 3216 13?
 εἰ 3216 7.
 εἶναι 3214 4, 13 3215¹ 11.
 εἰς 3215¹ 17.
 ἐκ 3214 2, 5, 7, 9 3216 19?
 ἐκείνος [3214 10].
 ἐλεύθερος 3215¹ 1, 8, 11, 13, 20.
 ἐν 3214 1? 3215¹ 4.

ἔτι 3215¹ 12.
 εὖ [3215¹ 15].
 εὐγένεια 3214 14.
 εὐλογεῖν 3215¹ 15 *marg.*
 εὐμαρῶς 3215¹ 13.
 ἔχειν [3214 3] (*bis*) 3215¹ 4.

ζοφ- 3216 2?

η 3215¹ 12.
 ηγεμ[3216 27.
 ἦκειν 3216 9?
 ἦν 3214 1?

ἴσχειν 3216 19.

καί 3215¹ 6 3216 13, 16.
 καινός 3214 8 *note.*
 κακός 3215¹ 5.
 καλῶς 3214 3.
 κατὰ [3214 6].
 κέαρ 3215¹ 14.
 κείνος 3215¹ 3.
 κήδευμα 3214 8 *note.*
 κῆδος [3214 6].
 κοινός [3214 13].
 κρατεῖν 3215¹ 6.
 κρύπτειν 3216 11?
 κτᾶσθαι 3214 6.

λέγειν 3215¹ 15 3216 4.
 λείπειν 3214 8.
 λέκτρον 3214 3.
 λέχος [3214 13].
 λύειν 3216 6.

μεθιέναι 3215¹ 8.
 μέν 3214 1? 3215 16.
 μή 3215¹ 8.

νεανίας 3215¹ 2.
 †νεόποις 3216 18.
 νουθετεῖν 3215¹ 9.

οἶκος 3215¹ 10.
 οἶός τ' 3216 20.

ὄμμα 3216 12.
 ὄς 3214 3?, 4 3216 18?
 ὅστις [3214 11] 3216 18?
 οὐ 3215¹ 15 3216 20.
 οὖν 3214 10? 3215 16.
 οὔνεκα 3214 11.
 οὕτως 3214 14.

παλαιός [3214 8] *note.*
 πανδοκεύς (-εῖν) 3214 12?
 πᾶς 3216 26.
 πατήρ 3215¹ 16.
 παύειν 3215¹ 15.
 πολέμιος 3215¹ 10.
 πολλάκις 3215¹ 9.
 πόνος 3215¹ 3 3216 6?
 ποτε 3215¹ 7.
 ποῦ 3216 11.
 πρὸς 3216 3?
 προσδοκᾶν 3215¹ 7.
 προσφ- 3216 3?
 Πρωτεσίλαος (*play*) 3214 9.
 Πύθιος [3216 10].

σκαῖός 3214 10.
 σός 3216 12.
 σοφός 3214 6.
 σύ 3215¹ 5, 7, 8.
 συγγηράσκειν 3214 4.
 σύν 3215¹ 3.

τις 3215¹ 19.
 τίς 3215¹ 7.
 τοι 3214 3?

Φοῖβος 3216 14.
 Φοῖνιξ (*play*) 3214 7.
 φροντίς 3216 5.
 Φρύξ 3216 16.

χρεία 3216 9.
 χρεῶν [3214 6].
 χρῆ 3216 17.
 χρη.[3215¹ 2 *marg.*
 χρῆν 3214 13.
 χρησιμός 3216 15.

(c) MENANDER, ETC. (3217-3218)

ἀδικεῖν 3218¹ 3.
 αὐτός 3217 2?

βλ[3218² 5.

ἐγώ 3218¹ 3, 2 5.
 εἶναι 3217 3?
 εἰσιέναι 3218¹ 6.
 ἔχειν 3218¹ 2.

θεός 3218¹ 4.

καταλείπειν 3218² 4.

κλαίειν 3218¹ 5.

λίθος 3218¹ 2.

Λύδιος 3218¹ 2.

μά 3218¹ 4.

μαρτύρεσθαι 3218¹ 3.

]μελλε[3218² 6.

Μοσχίων 3218¹ 5, 2³.

(-)νοεῖν 3218¹ 4?

ὄρᾶν 3218¹ 1.

οὗτος 3218¹ 1.

πευ[3218¹ 6 del.

(-)ποδων 3217 4.

προίεσθαι 3218² 2.

Πυρρίας [3217 3].

τε 3218¹ 2.

φέρειν 3217 6?

(d) ROMANCE (?) (3218 back) and TREATISE ON PLATO (?) (3219)

Ἀθηναῖος 3219² i 6, 8, 12, 13?, ii (b) 7-8?, 8 2?

Ἀλεξάμενος 3219¹ 10.

Ἀλεξανδρ- 3218 back¹ 3.

ἀλλά 3219² i 9, 12 2?

ἀλλήλων 3219² ii (a) 6, 10 7.

ἄλλος 3219¹ 12?

ἀνειδωλο[ποιεῖν 3219² i 11.

ἀνυπόθετος 3219¹⁹ 4?, 20 1?

ἀνώνυμος 3219² i 12?

ἀπάγειν 3219⁵ 7?

Ἀπόλλων 3219⁵ 5.

ἀποφαίνειν 3219² i 4.

Ἀριστοτέλης 3219¹ 6.

ἀρχή 3219²⁰ 1?

αὐτός 3219² i 3, 4, ii (b) 9?, 8 6?

αὐτοῦ 3219ⁱⁱ (b) 9?

ἄφικνεῖσθαι 3219¹ 11?

βασκαλία 3219¹ 7.

βε- 3219¹⁶ 5.

γ̄ 3219² ii (a) 9.

γάρ 3219¹ 5.

γράφειν 3219¹ 9.

δ [3219² i 5].

δέ 3219² i 3, 7, ii (b) 5, 7, 10?, 4 2.

(-)δεικνύναι 3219⁹ 4?, 21 2.

(-)δειπνον(-ος) 3219⁷ 6?

δευτερος 3219⁴ 3.

διά 3219² i 4, 9, ii (b) 2, 4, 7.

*διαδραματικός 3219² i 9?

διαλεκτικός (-ή) 3219¹¹ 5, 7, 19 1, 20 3.

διάλογος 3219¹ 5, 10, 2¹ 10, ii (b) 6.

διδόναι 3219¹⁹ 3.

διέρχεται 3219⁴ 1?

Διόνυσος 3219³ 2.

δόγμα 3219² ii (b) 9?

δοκεῖν 3219² i 4, 8 4.

(-)δραμ- 3219⁶ 1, 7 2?

δραματικός 3219¹ 4, 9, 2¹ 9?

εἰκῶν 3219² i 11?

εἶναι 3218 back¹ 2? 3219² i 7, ii (b) 3, 11 6?, 16 5,
19 4, 22 ii 4?

εἰς 3219¹¹ 4?, 19 2?

Ἐλεάτης 3219² i 6, 7.

ἐλέγχειν 3219² i 3, ii (a) 7.

ἐν 3219¹ 3, 7.

ἐνάντιος 3219² ii (a) 6?

ἐξευρίσκειν 3219¹⁹ 2?

ἐξουρεῖν 3219¹⁹ 2?

ἐπάγειν 3219⁵ 7?

ἐπανορθοῦν 3219¹⁶ 2.

εὐθύς 3218 back¹ 4?

*(-)εφεικτής 3219¹ 11?

ἐφικνεῖσθαι 3219¹ 11?

θ̄ 3219¹⁶ 4?

θέα (θεά) 3218 back² 2?

Θέσπις 3219³ 3.

θεωρητικός 3219¹² 5?, 21 3?

θεωρία 3219¹¹ 9.

καθό 3219¹⁶ 4?

καί 3219¹ 3, 8, 2¹ 8, 11, ii (a) 5, 16 4?, 18 4, 23 i 3?

κατά 3219¹ 4?

κυρι- 3219¹¹ 6.

(-)λαμβάνειν 3219²¹ 1, 23 i 2?

λεγ- 3219² ii (a) 9.

λέγειν 3219¹ 7.

(-)λέγειν 3219⁵ 6.

(-)λογος 3219¹⁰ 4.

λοιπός 3219² ii (a) 9.

μαθηματικός (-ή) 3219¹⁹ 3.
 μέθοδος 3219¹⁵ 2?, 18 3, 20 2.
 μετά 3219² ii (a) 10, 4 2.
 μικτός 3219¹⁶ 3?
 μιμείσθαι 3219¹ 3.
 μιμογράφος 3219¹ 4.
 ξένος 3219² i 6, 7(bis), 8, ii (b) 8.
 οικονομικός 3219¹⁶ 3.
 ὄς 3219² i 9?, 11 6?, 19 2?
 οὐ 3219¹ 5.
 οὐδέ 3219² ii (a) 8.
 οὗτος 3219¹ 3, 2 ii (b) 4, 4 2.
 πά[θος 3219¹⁸ 4?
 παρά 3219² i 3.
 Παρμενίδης 3219² i 9, 8 2?
 πᾶς 3219² ii (b) 2, 16 6.
 πειστέον 3219¹ 5.
 περί 3219¹ 8, 8 5?, 9 3, 16 6?
 πῆ 3219² ii (b) 6, 7.
 πηροῦν 3218 back¹ 4.
 Πλάτων 3219¹ 6, 9, 2 i 8, ii (b) 9-10?, 11 3.
 Πλατωνικός 3219² ii (b) 3-4?
 ποιεῖν 3219² i 10.
 ποιητική 3219¹ 8.
 ποικίλλειν 3219² ii (b) 5.
 ποικίλος 3219¹ 2.
 πολιτικός 3219¹¹ 8, 17 4?

πράξις 3219¹⁸ 4?, 20 2?
 πρό 3219¹ 8.
 πρόσ 3219¹ 6.
 πρόσωπον 3219² i 5, 6 2?, 9 3?
 Πρωταγόρας 3219² i 2.
 πρῶτος 3218 back¹ i 3219¹ 8, 11 4.
 ῥεῖν 3219¹⁹ 2?
 Σοφοκλῆς 3219⁴ 4.
 Σωκράτης 3219² i 5.
 Σώφρων 3219¹ 3.
 τέσσαρες 3219⁸ 5?
 Τήμιος 3219¹ 10.
 Τίμαιος (Τειμ-) 3219² i 5, ii (b) 7.
 τις 3219¹ 12?, 2 i 11?, ii (b) 8.
 -τομος 3218 back¹ 2.
 τότε 3218 back¹ 1?
 τραγωδία 3219⁵ 4.
 (-)τραγωδ- 3219³ 4? 5 3?
 ὑπάγειν 3219⁵ 7?
 ὑπό 3219¹ 6, 10, 2 ii (a) 8?
 ὑπο(-) 3219² ii (a) 8, 9 2.
 ὑπόθεσις 3219¹⁹ 5?
 ὑποκριτής 3219³ 3, 4 3.
 φιλοσοφία 3219¹¹ 4?, 12 2?

II. SUB-LITERARY TEXTS

(a) DECLAMATIONS (3235-3236)

ἀεί 3235³ i 18?, ii 7?
 Ἀθη[να- 3235³ i 9.
 Ἀθηναί 3236² ii 8?
 Ἀθηναῖος 3236¹ i 19, ii 5, 16, 2 ii 8?
 Αἰσχίνης 3236¹ i 2, 11, 22, ii 11.
 Ἀκρόπολις 3236¹ i 17.
 ἀληθής 3235¹ i 8.
 ἀλλά 3235¹ i 11, 2 ii 14, 4 12? 3236¹ i 16, ii 9, 10.
 ἄλλος 3235³ ii 16? 3236² ii 2.
 ἀμέλεια 3235² ii 9-10?
 ἀμελεῖν 3235² ii 3.
 Ἀμφίπολις 3235² ii 5, 11 3236¹ i 12.
 ἄν 3235² ii 14?
 ἀναλαμβάνειν 3236² ii 21.
 ἀνάλωτος 3236² ii 14.
 ἀναμένειν 3236¹ ii 14.

ἀνῆρ 3235¹ ii 15?, 4 6.
 ἀνίστασθαι 3235² ii 14?
 ἀντιποιεῖσθαι 3235¹ i 9.
 ἀντιπάττειν 3236¹ ii 16.
 ἀξιοῦν 3236¹ ii 21.
 ἀπλῶς 3235¹ i 12.
 ἀπό 3235² ii 11 3236¹ ii 1, 7.
 ἀπόλλυσθαι 3235² ii 4.
 Ἀπόλλων 3236² ii 11.
 ἀποστερεῖν 3235¹ i 13.
 ἀσφαλής 3236² ii 10-11?
 αὐ 3236¹ ii 23.
 αὐτός 3236¹ i 8.
 αὐτοῦ 3236¹ i 6.
 ἀφαιρεῖν 3236¹ i 9.
 ἀφιστα- 3235³ i 8.

ἄχθεσθαι 3235¹ i 14.

ἄχρις 3235² ii 12.

βάραθρον 3236¹ i 15.

βασιλικός 3236¹ ii 18.

βῆμα 3236¹ ii 3.

βούλεσθαι 3235¹ i 13, ³ i 16.

γάρ 3235¹ ii 8, ² ii 9 3236¹ i 1, 22, ii 11.

γε 3236¹ ii 11.

γῆ 3236² ii 19?

δαπανᾶν 3236¹ i 7.

δέ 3235¹ i 3, 6, 7, 14 3236¹ i 8, ii 19, ² ii 23.

δεῖν 3235¹ i 8 3236¹ i 8.

δέχεσθαι 3236¹ ii 6?

δημαγωγός 3236¹ ii 12.

δῆμος 3235³ ii 10 3236¹ i 3.

Δημοσθениκός 3235³ upper margin?

δοῦλος 3235¹ i 7.

δύνασθαι 3236¹ ii 4?, ² ii 4.

ἐάν 3236¹ i 8.

ἐαυτοῦ 3235¹ i 4.

εἰ 3235¹ i 7, 14, ii 8?, ³ i 3 3236¹ i 13, ² ii 23.

εἰκότως 3236¹ i 21.

εἶναι 3235¹ i 1, 16, ³ ii 14 3236¹ i 1, 13, ² ii 15.

εἰς 3235¹ ii 10.

εἰσφέρειν 3236¹ i 6.

ἐκεῖθεν 3235¹ ii 12.

ἐκκλησία 3236¹ ii 8-9?

ἐκλείπειν 3236¹ ii 20.

Ἐλευσίς 3236¹ i 18.

Ἑλλάς 3235¹ ii 10, ³ ii 16? 3236¹ i 3, 20?

Ἑλληγν 3235¹ i 16.

ἐμβαίνειν 3236² ii 5.

ἐν 3236¹ i 14.

ἐντεῦθεν 3235¹ ii 3.

ἐντός 3235¹ i 4.

ἐξεῖναι 3236² ii 17.

ἐπί 3235² ii 15 3236¹ i 10, ii 2, ² ii 22.

ἐπιμελ- 3236² ii 19.

ἐπιорκεῖν 3235¹ ii 7?

ἐπιφέρειν 3235² ii 17?

ἕτερος 3236² ii 9?

ἔχειν 3235¹ i 2 3236² ii 1.

ἐχθός 3236¹ i 22.

ἦ 3236² ii 2.

ἦμίεις 3235¹ i 12 3236² i 5?

ἦμέτερος 3235¹ i 9.

θάλαττα 3236² i 3?

θαρρεῖν 3236² ii 16.

Θεμιστοκλῆς 3236¹ ii 10, 22.

θόλος 3236¹ ii 1-2?

Θράκη 3236¹ i 10.

Θράκιος 3236¹ i 14.

Ἰλιάς 3236¹ ii 7.

καί 3235¹ i 6, 11, 15, ² ii 7, 14, ³ i 1?, 3 3236¹ i 4, 7, 8, 12, 15, ii 1, 3, ² i 10?, ii 3, 14, 15?, 20.

κατά 3236² ii 18-19?

καταφρονεῖν 3236² ii 17-18?

καταφυλάττειν 3236² ii 17?

κινδυνεύειν 3235² ii 7.

κίνδυνος 3236² ii 7.

κτῆμα 3235¹ i 10, ³ ii 13 3236¹ i 11.

(-)κτητος 3236² ii 3.

λαμβάνειν 3235³ i 4, 13?

λέγειν 3235¹ i 8 3236¹ i 15.

λόγος 3235¹ i 15.

Μακε[δ]- 3235³ i 6.

μᾶλλον 3235¹ i 7.

μαρτυρ- 3236² ii 12.

μάχη 3236¹ ii 20.

(-)μαχο- 3235⁴ 8.

μέν 3236¹ ii 13, 23.

μερίζειν 3235¹ i 11.

μέρος 3235³ i 2?

μέσος 3235³ ii 8.

μετά 3236² ii 6-7?

μεταβαίνειν 3236¹ ii 2.

μή 3236² ii 23.

μηδέ 3236¹ ii 3?

μηδείς 3235¹ i 15.

Μιλτιάδης 3236¹ ii 9, 12.

μόνος 3236¹ ii 15.

νόθος 3235¹ i 6.

νοῦς 3236² ii 22.

νῦν 3235¹ i 3, ² ii 8, 14.

ὄδε 3236¹ i 2.

ἸΟλύμθιοι 3235² ii 2, 15.

ἸΟλυμθος 3235² ii 8, 12.

ὄμοιος 3236¹ ii 11.

ὄρος 3235¹ i 3.

οὐ (-κ, -χ) 3235³ ii 15, 16 3236¹ i 22, ii 6, 11.

οὐδέ 3235¹ i 3, 11 3236¹ ii 13, 19, ² ii 18?

οὐτος 3235¹ i 2, 14 3236¹ i 2, 18, ² ii 5, 13, 22?

οὐτω(ς) 3235² ii 2, 4, 5, 6 3236² ii 15-16?

οὐχί 3236¹ i 10.

ὄχλος 3236¹ ii 1-2?

πάλαι 3236¹ i 16.
 παραχω[ρ- 3235³ i 5?
 πᾶς 3235¹ i 1, 12, ³ ii 6 3236¹ i 4, ii 17, ² i 10?
 πᾶσχειν 3235⁴ i 1?
 πάτριος 3236¹ i 19.
 πατρίς 3236¹ i 9.
 πατρῶος 3236¹ i 1.
 Πειραιεύς 3236¹ i 16.
 περικοπτ- 3235¹ i 16?
 (-)πηδᾶν 3236¹ ii 8.
 πηλός 3236¹ ii 1-2?
 ποιεῖν 3235² ii 1.
 (-)πολεμ- 3235¹ ii 9.
 πολεμεῖν 3235¹ ii 13?
 πόλεμος 3235¹ ii 13?, ² ii 17.
 πολιορκεῖν 3235¹ ii 7?
 πόλις 3235³ ii 9 3236¹ i 4, ² ii 9.
 ποτε 3236² ii 18?
 Ποτίδαια 3235² ii 6, ⁴ 3-4.
 πρᾶγμα 3236¹ ii 5-6?
 πρόγονος 3236² i 17?, ii 6.
 προέρχεσθαι 3235² ii 13.
 προκινδυνεύειν 3236¹ i 5.
 προλαμβάνειν 3235² ii 10-11?
 πρὸς 3236¹ ii [4], 17.
 προσεπισκευάζειν 3236² ii 20?
 πρώην 3236¹ ii 1.
 Πύδνα 3235² ii 4, ⁴ 3.
 Πύθιος 3236² ii 12, 14.
 Πύλαι 3235¹ i 4.

ῥῆμα 3236¹ ii 4?
 κυρός 3236¹ i 14.
 -σπονδος 3235² ii 1.
 στρατηγεῖν 3236¹ i 21.
 στρατιά 3236¹ ii 18.
 κύ 3236¹ ii 19.
 συγγεν- 3235¹ ii 7, ⁵ 4.
 σύμμαχος 3236¹ ii 14, 21.
 κάζειν 3236¹ i 3.

τειχιερός 3236² ii 13.
 τεῖχος 3236² ii 2, 10.
 τις 3235¹ i 6 3236¹ i 13.
 τοιοῦτος 3236¹ i 13.
 τριήρης 3236² ii 1.
 τρόπαιον 3236¹ i 19?

ὕμ- 3235¹ ii 12.
 ὕμεις 3235¹ i 16, ² ii 3, ³ i 10, 17, ii 11? 3236² ii 6,
 10, 16?
 ὕμετερος 3235¹ i 1, ² ii 9, ³ i 14, ii 15.
 ὑπέρ 3236¹ ii 23.
 ὑπό 3236² i 15.
 ὑποβολιμαῖος 3235¹ i 5.

Φίλιππος 3235¹ ii 5, ² ii 10, 15, ³ i 7, 11.
 φίλος 3235⁴ 5?
 φυλάττειν 3235¹ i 5.

ὤς 3236¹ i 15.

(b) HOMERIC GLOSSARIES (3237-3238)

(i) Homeric forms glossed

ἀγάνυφον 3238¹ i 7.
 ἀγέμεν 3237¹ ii 33.
 αἰδόντες 3238¹ ii 71.
 αἰγλήεντος 3238¹ iv 131.
 αἶθοπα 3238¹ ii 45.
 αἶψα 3237¹ ii 4.
 ἄλτο 3238¹ iv 131.
 ἀμβρόσια 3238¹ iv 128.
 ἀμύμονας 3238¹ i 12.
 ἀμφιβρότης 3238³ ii 6.
 ἀνθερεῶνος 3238¹ iii 104.
 ἀνστήτην 3237¹ ii 11.
 ἀντιβίοις 3237¹ ii 9.
 ἄνωγεν 3237¹ ii 22.
 ἀπατηλόν 3238¹ iv 125.
 ἀπηύρων 3238¹ i 19.

ἀπολυμαίνεσθαι 3237¹ ii 21.
 ἀπόστιχε 3238¹ iv 118.
 ἀπούρας 3238¹ iii 109.
 ἀργυρόπεζα 3238¹ iv 138.
 ἄρκιον 3238³ ii 17.
 ἀσπίδος 3238³ ii 5.
 ἀτελεύτητον 3238¹ iv 126.
 ἀτρυγέτοιο 3237¹ ii 26.
 αἶθι 3238¹ iii 94.
 αὐτήν 3238¹ iii 97.
 αὐτως 3238¹ iv 116.

βῆσεν 3237¹ ii 18.

γνώωσι 3237¹ ii 3.
 γουνάσομαι 3238¹ i 17.

δαίνυντο 3238¹ ii 56.
 δαῖτα 3238¹ i 13.
 δαιτός (ἔιτης) 3238¹ ii 58.
 δεπάεσσιν 3238¹ ii 68.
 διαπρήσσουσα 3238¹ iii 83.
 δίπτυχα 3238¹ ii 38.
 δῶ 3238¹ i 16.

 ἐδέυετο 3238¹ ii 57.
 ἐδέων 3238¹ iv 134.
 ἔθειεν 3238¹ iii 82.
 ἔϊτας 3237¹ ii 13.
 εἶσεν 3237¹ ii 17.
 ἔϊτης (δαιτός) 3238¹ ii 58.
 ἔκρινεν 3237¹ ii 16.
 ἔλόντε 3237¹ ii 32.
 ἐμέθεν 3238¹ iv 120.
 ἔντο 3238¹ ii 61.
 ἐξ *see* ἔρον.
 ἐόν 3238¹ iv 133.
 ἐπάσαντο 3238¹ ii 51.
 ἐπερρώσαντο 3238¹ iv 130.
 ἐπεστέψαντο 3238¹ ii 65.
 ἔπονται 3238¹ i 14.
 ἔρδον 3237¹ ii 24.
 ἐρέθηεν 3238¹ iv 114.
 ἐρετμοῖς 3238¹ i 27.
 ἔρον 3238¹ ii 61.
 ἐρύσαντο 3238¹ ii 55.
 ἔρχεσθον 3237¹ ii 31.
 ἐρωήσει [3237¹ ii 6].
 ἐσκίδναντο 3238¹ iii 90.
 ἔτλη 3238¹ iv 136.
 ἐϋζώνιοιο 3238¹ i 18.
 εὐνάς [3238¹ i 34].
 ἐϋξοον 3238³ ii 13.
 εὐρύοπα 3238¹ iii 100.
 ἐφετμέων 3238¹ iii 98.
 ἐφήσεις 3238¹ iv 113.
 ἐχθροδοπήσαι 3238¹ iv 111.

 ἦβαιόν 3238³ ii 3.
 ἦερίη 3238¹ iii 99.
 ἦπείροιο 3238¹ iii 84.

 θεράποντες 3237¹ ii 30.

 ἴαχε 3238¹ iii 81.
 ἴκεν 3237¹ ii 27.
 ἰστία [3238¹ i 23].
 ἰστοδόκη 3238¹ i 21.

 καλλιπάρηον 3237¹ ii 34.
 καλόν 3238¹ ii 71.

καμεῖται 3238³ ii 12.
 καρπαλίμως 3238¹ i 26.
 κελαινόν [3237¹ ii 5].
 κέλευθα (ύγρα) 3237¹ ii 20.
 κρινώμεθα 3238³ i 1.
 Κρονίωνι 3238¹ i 1?
 κυανέηεν 3238¹ iv 127.
 κυδιάνειραν 3238¹ iii 91

 λείβε 3238¹ ii 46.
 λύματα 3237¹ ii 23.
 λῦσαν 3237¹ ii 12.

 μαχεσκαμένω 3237¹ ii 10.
 μεγάροις 3238¹ i 3.
 μήνι 3238¹ i 10.
 μητίετα 3238¹ iii 110.
 μιμνάζειν 3238³ ii 16.
 μίστυλλον 3238¹ ii 52.
 μολπή 3238¹ ii 70.

 νεικεῖ 3238¹ iv 117.
 νοήση 3238¹ iv 119.
 νόμησαν 3238¹ ii 67.

 ὀβελοῖς <ω> 3238¹ ii 53.
 οἶδε 3237¹ ii 3.
 οἶς 3237¹ ii 14.
 ὀνειδείοις 3238¹ iv 115.
 ὀτηρώ 3237¹ ii 29.

 παιήονα [3238¹ ii 73].
 παλινάγρετον 3238¹ iv 123.
 πάμπαν 3238¹ i 11.
 πανημέριοι 3238¹ ii 69.
 παυσωλή 3238³ ii 2.
 πείρησαι 3237¹ ii 2.
 πέλασαν 3238¹ i 24.
 πεμπάβολα 3238¹ ii 47.
 πένοντο 3237¹ ii 28.
 περιφραδέως 3238¹ ii 54.
 πέτασσαν 3238¹ iii 75.
 ποθέεσκε 3228¹ iii 96.
 πολυβενθέος 3238¹ i 20.
 πολύμητις 3237¹ ii 19.
 πρήσεν 3238¹ iii 76.
 προέρυσε 3237¹ ii 15.
 προτόνοις <ω> 3238¹ i 28.
 πρυμνήσια 3238¹ i 37?

 σκαιήι 3238¹ iii 103.
 σκηπτοῦχος 3237¹ i 7.
 στείρη 3238¹ iii 77.
 συμφράσασατο 3238¹ iv 137.

cfou 3238¹ iv 135.
 χίλις 3238¹ ii 44.

τάνυσαν 3238¹ iii 89.
 τέκνωρ 3238¹ iv 121.
 τελαμών 3238³ ii 4.
 τεληέσας 3237¹ ii 25.
 τερπικεραύνωι 3238¹ i 4.
 τιταίνων 3238³ ii 14.
 τώ 3237¹ ii 8.
 τῶ 3238¹ i 2.

ύγρα (κέλευθα) 3237¹ ii 20.

ύφέντες [3238¹ i 32].
 ύψου 3238¹ iii 85.

φθινύθεσκε 3238¹ iii 93.

χαίται 3238¹ iv 129.
 χαλκοβατές 3238¹ i 15.

ψαμάθοις 3238¹ iii 86.

ώκυμωρώτατος 3238¹ iii 108.
 ώκυτόροις 3238¹ i 9.
 ώμοθέτησαν 3238¹ ii 39.

(ii) Glosses

άγαθος 3238¹ i 12.
 άγαν 3238¹ i 7.
 άγειν 3237¹ ii 33.
 άγκυρα 3238¹ i 34.
 άδειν 3238¹ ii 72.
 άκαρπος 3237¹ ii 26.
 άκολουθείν 3238¹ i 14.
 άλλεσθαι 3238¹ iv 131.
 άμμος 3238¹ iii 87.
 άναπειθειν 3238¹ iv 113.
 άνήρ 3238¹ iii 91.
 άνθειν 3238¹ iii 106.
 άνίστασθαι 3237¹ ii 11.
 άπατητικός 3238¹ iv 125.
 άπλουν 3238¹ iii 75.
 άπό 3238¹ i 29.
 άπόγειος 3238¹ i 37?
 άποκαθαίρειν 3237¹ ii 21.
 άποτρέχειν 3238¹ iv 118.
 άριστερός 3238¹ iii 103.
 άρμενα 3238¹ i 23.
 άρχή 3238¹ ii 49.
 άτέλεστος 3238¹ iv 126.
 αυτός 3238¹ i 35.
 άφαιρειν 3238¹ i 19.

βαθύς 3238¹ i 20.
 βαίνειν 3238¹ i 15.
 βροντή 3238¹ iii 102.

γένειον 3238¹ iii 104.
 γεύειν 3238¹ ii 51.
 γή 3238¹ iii 84.
 γινώσκειν 3237¹ ii 3.
 γονυπετείν 3238¹ i 17.

δέχεσθαι 3238¹ i 21.
 διά 3238¹ i 34, ii 69, iii 80, 102, 105.
 διαδιδόναι 3238¹ ii 67.
 διακόπτειν 3238¹ ii 52.
 διαλύειν 3237¹ ii 12.
 διαπερᾶν 3238¹ iii 83.
 διαχωρειν 3237¹ ii 16.
 διό 3238¹ i 2.
 δραστικός 3237¹ ii 29.
 δῶμα 3238¹ i 16.

έαυτοῦ 3237¹ ii 14 3238¹ iv 133.
 έγώ 3238¹ iv 120.
 είδος 3238¹ ii 74.
 είναι 3238¹ i 6, 28, ii 40, 57, 63, iii 77, 80.
 εις 3238¹ ii 58, iii 85, 95, iv 111.
 εις 3238¹ ii 48.
 εκ, εξ 3237¹ ii 9 [3238¹ ii 48].
 εκαστος 3238¹ ii 59.
 εκει 3238¹ iii 105.
 εκεινος 3238¹ iii 94, 95.
 εκπληροῦν 3238¹ ii 61.
 εκκειν 3238¹ ii 55.
 έμβιβάζειν 3237¹ ii 18.
 έμπίρωσ 3238¹ ii 54.
 εν 3238¹ ii 43, iii 91, 94.
 ενάντιος 3237¹ ii 9.
 ενδεής 3238¹ ii 57.
 ενεργειν 3237¹ ii 28.
 εντολή 3238¹ iii 98.
 εξάπτειν 3238¹ i 30.
 εξείχειν 3238¹ iii 77.
 επίθετον 3238¹ i 6.
 επιθυμία 3238¹ ii 62.
 επικλίνειν 3238¹ i 22.

ἐπιείειν 3238¹ iv 130.
 ἐπισπένδειν 3238¹ ii 46.
 ἐπιτελεῖν 3237¹ ii 24.
 ἐπιχαλᾶν 3238¹ i 32.
 ἐρεθίζειν 3238¹ iv 114.
 ἔρχεσθαι 3238¹ iv 112.
 εὐδοξεῖν 3238¹ iii 92.
 εὐωχεῖν 3238¹ ii 56.
 εὐωχία 3238¹ i 13.
 ἔχειν 3237¹ ii 34 3238¹ ii 50.
 ἔχθρα 3238¹ iv 111.

 Ζεύς 3238¹ i 1, 6.

 ἦ 3238¹ iii 95, 101, iv 121.
 ἡμέρα 3238¹ ii 69.
 ἦτοι 3238¹ iii 100.

 θάλασσα 3237¹ ii 20.
 θεῖος 3238¹ iv 128.
 θρίξ 3238¹ iii 107.

 ἴκος 3237¹ ii 13 3238¹ ii 58.
 ἰσότοιχος 3237¹ ii 13?
 ἰστός 3238¹ i 22, [30].
 ἰσχυρῶς 3238¹ i 15.

 κάθαρμα 3237¹ ii 23.
 καθέδρα 3238¹ iv 134.
 καθίζειν 3237¹ ii 17.
 καί 3238² 139?
 κακολογεῖν 3238¹ iv 117.
 καλεῖν 3238¹ iii 86.
 καλόζωνος 3238¹ i 18.
 καλός 3237¹ ii 34, 35.
 καλῶς 3238¹ ii 71.
 κατά 3238¹ iii 78.
 κεραννός 3238¹ i 5.
 κεφαλή 3238¹ i 30.
 κόμη 3238¹ iv 129.
 κρατήρ 3238¹ ii 66.
 Κρόνος [3238¹ i 1].
 κώπη 3238¹ i 27.

 λαμβάνειν 3237¹ ii 32.
 λαμπρός 3238¹ iv 132.

 ματαίως 3238¹ iv 116.
 μάχεσθαι 3237¹ ii 10.
 μάχη 3238¹ iii 97.
 μεγαλόφθαλμος 3238¹ iii 100.
 μεγαλόφωνος 3238¹ iii 101.
 μέλας 3237¹ ii 5 3238¹ ii 45, iv 127.
 μερίζειν 3238¹ ii 59.

μερίς 3238¹ ii 60.
 μέρος 3238¹ ii 40.

 ναῦς [3238¹ i 36].
 νιφετώδης 3238¹ i 7.

 ξύλον 3238¹ iii 78?, 79.

 ὀβελίσκος 3238¹ ii 48, 53.
 ὀβελός 3238¹ ii 49.
 οἴκημα 3238¹ i 16.
 οἶκος 3238¹ i 3?
 οἶνος 3238¹ ii 66.
 ὄλος 3238¹ ii 69.
 ὀνειδιστικός 3238¹ iv 115.
 ὄραν 3238¹ iv 119.
 ὀργίζειν 3238¹ i 10.
 ὀρθρινός 3238¹ iii 99.
 ὄς 3238¹ iii 91.
 ὄσπερ 3238¹ ii 63.
 οὗτος 3237¹ ii [3], 8.

 παιάν 3238¹ ii 73.
 παλίλληπτος 3238¹ iv 123.
 παντελῶς 3238¹ i 11.
 παραγίγνεσθαι 3237¹ ii 27, 31.
 παραθαλάσσιος 3238¹ iii 87.
 παρακελεύειν 3237¹ ii 22.
 παρατείνειν 3238¹ iii 89.
 παρεΐα 3237¹ ii 34.
 πέζα 3238² 139?
 πειρᾶν 3237¹ ii 2.
 πέντε 3238¹ ii 49.
 περιχέειν 3237¹ ii 7.
 πληρής 3238¹ ii 65.
 πληροῦν 3238¹ ii 63.
 ποθεῖν 3238¹ iii 96.
 ποιεῖν 3238¹ i 24, ii 65.
 πολύβουλος 3237¹ ii 19.
 ποτήριον 3238¹ ii 68.
 προέλκειν 3237¹ ii 15.
 πρὸς 3238¹ i 31.
 προσεγγίζειν 3238¹ i 24.
 πρότονος 3238¹ i 28.
 πρῶρα 3238¹ i 31, iii 78.
 πρῶτος 3238¹ iii 106.
 πῦρ 3238¹ ii 43.

 σαιτοῦ 3238¹ iv 135.
 σκεδαννῆναι 3238¹ iii 90.
 σκηπτροφόρος 3237¹ i 7.
 στεῖρα 3238¹ iii 77.
 στερεός 3238¹ iii 80.
 συμβουλεύειν 3238¹ iv 137.

σχίδαξ, σχίδη 3238¹ ii 44?
σχουίνον 3238¹ i 29, [37].

ταχέως 3237¹ ii 4 3238¹ i 26.
ταχυθάνατος [3238¹ iii 108?].
ταχύς 3238¹ i 9.
τεκμήριον 3238¹ iv 121.
τέλειος 3237¹ ii 25.
τέλος 3238¹ iv 121.
τέρπειν 3238¹ i 4.
τοιχος 3237¹ ii 13?
τόπος 3238¹ iii 94, 95, 105.
τότε 3238¹ iii 94.
τρέχειν 3238¹ iii 82.
τριαινοειδής 3238¹ ii 47.
τρόπις 3238¹ iii 79.

υῖός 3238¹ i 1.

ὑπό [3238¹ iii 104].
ὑπομένειν 3238¹ iv 136.
ὑπουργός 3237¹ ii 30.
ὑποχωρεῖν 3237¹ ii 6.
ὑψος 3238¹ iii 85.

φθίνειν 3238¹ iii 93.
φυσᾶν 3238¹ iii 76.
φωνεῖν 3238¹ iii 81.

χειμερινός 3238¹ i 8.
χιτών 3238² 140?

ψάμαθος 3238¹ iii 86.

ῥοδή 3238¹ ii 70, [74].
ῶσπερ 3238² 139?

(c) GLOSSARY (?) (3239)

ἀγαθός 3239 36.
ἀήρ 3239 40?
αἰεὶ 3239 2.
Ἄλεξάνδρεια 3239 31.
ἄν 3239 42.
ἄναξ 3239 15.
ἀνήρ 3239 40?
ἄνθος 3239 6.
*ἀντικύριος 3239 45?
ἄρουρα 3239 8.

βάρος 3239 25.

γεωργία 3239 3.

δεξιός 3239 24.
δεῦρο 3239 43?
διψᾶν 3239 44.

εἰς 3239 23.
ἔκαστος 3239 41.
ἐλάδιον 3239 28.
ἐλπίς 3239 21.
ἐργόμωκος 3239 35.
ἔριον 3239 23.
ἔσω 3239 43?

ἦγημα 3239 5.
ἦδονή 3239 11, 29?

θέλειν 3239 42.

θεός 3239 11, 13.
θερμημερία 3239 16?

ἰλαρός 3239 3.
*Ισις 3239 21.
ἰταμός 3239 22.

κακόν 3239 1.
κάλαθος 3239 23.
καλός 3239 18?, 40.
κοιλιά 3239 6?
κοσμεῖν 3239 32.
κυνηγικός 3239 5.
κύων 3239 22.

λέσχη 3239 10.
λύχνος 3239 24.

μέγας 3239 21, 25.
μέθη 3239 12.
μόλιβος 3239 25.
μῦς 3239 26.

ν 3239 27.

ξεῖνος 3239 37.
ξύστρα 3239 28.

ὀδηγός 3239 36.
οἰκοδόμος 3239 30.
οἰνόμελι 3239 29?

οἶνος 3239 2, 33.

ῥῆος 3239 33.

ὄς 3239 42.

παραβολ- 3239 30.

παράγειν 3239 14.

παραχύτης 3239 34.

Πάτροκλος 3239 4.

πειρατής 3239 22?

πέρπερος 3239 26, 39.

πεταννύαι 3239 13.

πικρός 3239 1.

πίνειν 3239 29?

πίστις 3239 18.

πλούσιος 3239 42.

ποιεῖν 3239 9, 43.

πόλεμος 3239 9.

πόλις 3239 37.

ῥάβδος 3239 36.

ῥήτωρ 3239 35.

Ῥώμη 3239 37.

σαπρός 3239 34.

Carāπις 3239 31.

-εἴβεια 3239 17.

σεμίδαλις 3239 38.

Σίμιλις 3239 40?

*κιμνις 3239 38.

σκυλεία 3239 6?

σπάνις 3239 28.

στέφανος 3239 41.

στόμα 3239 39.

συνάγορος 3239 39.

τόνος 3239 7?

τύχη 3239 34, 42.

ὑδρο- 3239 43.

ὑδροφόρος 3239 44.

υἱός 3239 15.

ὑπηρέτης 3239 45.

ἦς 3239 46.

φέγγος 3239 24.

φιλεῖν 3239 4.

φορμ- 3239 48.

χάρμα 3239 12.

χαρω- 3239 50, 51.

χίμαιρα 3239 52?

*Ωρος 3239 54?

ὠροσκόπος 3239 54?

III. EMPERORS AND REGNAL YEARS

VESPASIAN

Οὐεσπασιανός 3242 10 (Year 3—retrospective).

TITUS

Αὐτοκράτωρ Τίτος Καῖσαρ Οὐεσπασιανός Σεβαστός 3264 28–30, 35–6 (Year 3).

Τίτος 3242 11 (Year 1—retrospective).

DOMITIAN

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Δομιτιανός Σεβαστός Γερμανικός 3240 6–7 (Year lost), 17 (Year 8).

MARCUS AURELIUS AND VERUS

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστός καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος Οὐῆρος Σεβαστός 3241 12–15, 26–9 (Year 3).

CARACALLA

ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτωρ Σεουήρος Ἀντωνίνος Εὐτυχήης, Εὐεβής, Σεβαστός 3243¹ 7–8 (Year 22).

SEVERUS ALEXANDER

Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σευήρος Ἀλέξανδρος Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος 3244 9-12.
 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σευήρος Ἀλέξανδρος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός 3244 28-32
 (Year 8).

VALERIAN, GALLIENUS, (AND VALERIAN OR SALONINUS CAESAR)

Αὐτοκράτορες Καῖσαρες Πούπλιος Λικίνιος Οὐαλεριανὸς καὶ Πούπλιος Λικίνιος . . . 3252 25-8
 (Year 5).

DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN, CONSTANTIUS, AND GALERIUS

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοὶ καὶ οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς οἱ
 ἐπιφανέστατοι Καῖσαρες 3245 18-20 (Year 13, 12, and 5).
 οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοὶ καὶ Κωνσταντίος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι
 Καῖσαρες 3246 2-3 (Year 14, 13, and 6).
]Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ C[εβαστῶν . . .] Καισάρων 3247 22-3 (Year lost).

IV. CONSULS

<p>ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε' καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ β' (A.D. 297) 3245 1-2, [22?]. ὑπατείας τῶν δεσπ[οτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ] Λικινίου Σεβαστῶν τὸ . . . (A.D. 312-15) 3254 1-2. ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν [ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικινίου] Σεβαστῶν τὸ δ' (A.D. 315) 3255 1-2. ὑπατείας τῆς προκειμένης 3255 26. ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Λικινίου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε' καὶ Κρίστου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ α' (A.D. 318) 3257 1-2. ὑπατείας τῆς προκειμένης 3257 18. ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Αὐτο- κράτορος τὸ ε' καὶ Λικινίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ α' (A.D. 319) 3258 1-2.</p>	<p>ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Σεβα- στοῦ τὸ ε' καὶ Λικινίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ α' (A.D. 319) 3259 1-3. τοῖς ἀποδειχθησομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ γ' (A.D. 323) 3260 1 τοῖς ἐσομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ δ' (A.D. 324) 3261 1. ὑπατείας τῆς προκειμένης 3261 23. ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Ἀγού- στου τὸ ζ' καὶ Κωνσταντίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ α' (A.D. 326) 3249 1-3. [ὑπατείας τῶν δεσπ]οτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου <Ἀγούστου> τὸ ζ' καὶ Κωνσταντίου τοῦ ἐπιφανε- στάτου Καίσαρος τὸ α' (A.D. 326) 3265 1-3. ὑπατείας τῆς προκειμένης 3265 18. ὑπατείας Φλαουίου Φιλικιανοῦ καὶ Φαβίου Τιτιανοῦ τῶν λαμπροτάτων (A.D. 337) 3266 1-2.</p>
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V. MONTHS

<p>Ἀθύρ 3252 17 3255 26 3257 18. ἐπαγόμεναι 3249 14. Ἐπίφ 3257 14 3262 5 3265 18. Θῶθ 3249 13 3266 11. Μεσορή 3247 23 [3249 13] 3251 11 3263 11, 14 3266 2.</p>	<p>Μεχίρ 3241 15, 30. Παῦνι 3255 21. Σεβαστός 3250 17. Φαμενώθ [3240 7] 3266 15. Φαῶφι 3248 12. Χοιάκ 3244 16, 32.</p>
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VI. PERSONAL NAMES

- Ἀγοῦστος *see* Index IV (A.D. 326).
 Αἰλουρίων, Aur., alias Hesychius, former hypomnematographus, councillor of Alexandria, (ex-?) gymnasiarch, councillor, prytanis in office of Oxyrhynchus 3245 3-5.
 Ἀκόντιος 3247 5.
 Ἀλέξανδρος *see* Index III s.v. Severus Alexander.
 Ἀμηνεύς, f. of Pennamis 3264 5.
 Ἀμμώνιος 3247 7.
 Ἀμμώνιος, Aur., s. of Copreus 3257 4.
 Ἀμμώνιος, f. of Aur. Dioscorus 3255 6 3256 3.
 Ἀμμώνιος, f. of Gaianus 3260 2.
 Ἀνδρόνικος, f. of Sarapion 3242 19.
 Ἄννιανός, Flavius, *protector* 3266 4.
 Ἄνουβᾶς, s. of Hermias, Persian of the *epigone*, shipmaster 3250 1, 12, 25.
 Ἀντίοχος, Aur., *ἐγκυκλιώνης* 3241 3, [18].
 Ἀντωνίνος *see* Index III s.vv. Marcus Aurelius and Verus, Caracalla.
 Ἀπολλώνιος, Aur., alias Serenus, s. of Apollonius 3259 4-5.
 Ἀπολλώνιος, f. of Aur. Apollonius alias Serenus 3259 5.
 Ἀπολλώνιος, f. of *Σαραπίων φροντιστής* 3241 2, 10, [17], 24.
 Ἀπολλώνιος *see* Index VII(c) s.v. Ἀπολλωνίου κληρῶς.
 Ἀρποκρατίων, (Aur.) Calpurnius Isidorus alias, strategus (Arsinoite; departments of Themistes and Polemon) 3243 1 2 3263 1-3.
 Ἀρποκρατίων, royal scribe 3242 1.
 Ἄρτεμίδωρος 3247 2.
 Ἄρτεμίδωρος, Dionysius alias, f. of Aur. Ptolemaeus 3245 10.
 Ἄτρῆς, Aur., s. of Peteharpocrates, m. Tanneis 3252 5-7.
 Ἀγούστος *see* Index IV (A.D. 326).
 Ἀύρηλία *see* *Εὐτροπία*.
 Ἀύρηλιος . . . 3245 23 3249 17.
 Ἀύρηλιος *Σεπτίμιος* Ἡράκλειτος, *praef. Aeg.* 3243 1.
 Ἀύρηλιος *see* Αἰλουρίων, Ἀμμώνιος, Ἀντίοχος, Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἀρποκρατίων, Ἄτρῆς, Δίδυμος, Δίος, Διόσκορος, Εἰρηναῖος, Ἐρ . . ., Εὐάγγελος, Εὐλόγιος, Εὐετόχιος, Ζηναγένης, Ζώιλος, Ἡράκλητος, Ἡρων, Ἡσύχιος, Θεογένης, Θέων, Θώνιος, Ἰσίδωρος, Καλπούριος, Λεωνίδης, Μάξιμος, Πτολεμαῖος, Σαραπίων, Σεργῆνος, Σεύθης, Ὠρίων.
 Ἀύρηλιος *see also* Index III s.vv. Marcus Aurelius and Verus, Severus Alexander.
- Ἀχιλλεύς, f. of Aur. Sarapion, h. of Dieus 3244 5, 34.
 Βάρβας, *dux* 3261 10.
 Βησαρίων 3253 19.
 Γαιανός, s. of Ammonius 3260 2, 28.
 Γάιος *see* *Νορβανός*.
 Δίδυμος alias Eudaemon, (ex-?) gymnasiarch, councillor, f. of Techosus alias Eudaemonis 3246 8.
 Δίδυμος, Aur. 3245 9.
 Δίδυμος, Aur. Sarapion alias, (ex-?) gymnasiarch 3252 1-4.
 Διεὺς, m. of Aur. Sarapion, w. of Achilles 3244 6.
 Διογένης, *χωματεπιμελητής* 3264 10, 23.
 Διογενίς, m. of Aur. Theon, w. of Theon 3244 25.
 Διοκλητιανός *see* Index III s.v. Diocletian and Maximian, Constantius, and Galerius.
 Διονυσία, d. of Sarapias alias Thamunion, Antinoite 3242 2.
 Διονύσιος 3257 19.
 Διονύσιος alias Artemidorus, f. of Aur. Ptolemaeus 3245 10.
 Διονύσιος, f. of Dionysius 3240 9.
 Διονύσιος, f. of . . . οε 3245 26.
 Διονύσιος, s. of Dionysius 3240 9.
 Δίος, Aur., s. of Zoilus 3258 3.
 Διόσκορος, Aur., s. of Ammonius 3255 6 3256 3.
 Διόσκορος, f. of Orsenuphis 3264 3.
 Διόσκορος, s. of . . . ion 3261 24.
 Διοφάνης, strategus 3242 1.
 Δομιτιανός *see* Index III s.v. Domitian.
 Εἰρηναῖος, Aur., assistant to the prytanis 3245 7-8.
 Ἐπίμαχος 3260 30.
 Ἐρ . . ., Aur., village scribe 3263 4.
 Ἐρμίας, f. of Anubas 3250 1.
 Ἐρμόφιλος 3264 2.
 Ἐστιαῖος *see* Ἰούνιος Ἐ.
 Εὐάγγελος, Aur. 3254 3, 23.
 Εὐδαιμονίς, Techosus alias, d. of Didymus (ex-?) gymnasiarch, councillor 3246 8.
 Εὐδαίμων, Didymus alias, (ex-?) gymnasiarch, councillor, f. of Techosus alias Eudaemonis 3246 9.
 Εὐδαίμων, slave 3252 14.
 Εὐλόγιος, Aur., s. of Leonteus, m. Eusebia 3266 3.

- Εὐλόγιος*, f. of Timotheus 3249 8.
Εὐσεβία, m. of Aur. Eulogius, w. of Leonteus 3266 3.
Εὐστόχιος, Flavius, s. of Copreus, systates 3249 5.
Εὐτροπία, Aurelia, d. of Theodorus alias Chaeremon, late gymnasiarch, prytanis, and councillor 3255 3, 27 (*ευτροπιον*).
Εὐτρόπιον *see* *Εὐτροπία*.
- Ζηναγένης*, Aur., strategus 3246 4 3247 1.
Ζωίλος 3253 1.
Ζωίλος, Aur., 3265 6-7, 19.
Ζωίλος, f. of Aur. Dius 3258 3.
- **Ἡλιοδώρα*, Claudia, d. of Canopion, former hypomnematographus, ἀπὸ στεφάνου 3246 7.
**Ἡρακλείδης*, ἐγκυκλιώνης 3241 3, [18].
**Ἡρακλείδης*, Flavius, ex-strategus 3240 10.
**Ἡράκλειος*, Claudius, strategus 3264 7-8.
**Ἡράκλειτος* *see* *Αὐρήλιος Σεπτίμιος Ἡράκλειτος*.
**Ἡράκληος*, Aur., *πραγματευτής* 3266 5.
**Ἡρων*, Aur., alias Sarapion, ex-logistes, former gymnasiarch and prytanis 3256 1-2.
**Ἡσύχιος*, Aur. Aelurion alias, former hypomnematographus, councillor of Alexandria, (ex-?) gymnasiarch, councillor, prytanis in office of Oxyrhynchus, 3245 3-5.
- Θαμούνιον*, Sarapias alias, m. of Dionysia, Antinoite 3242 2.
Θεα . . . , s. of Sarapion 3241 [1], 16.
Θεμίστης *see* Index VII(a) s.v. *Θεμίστου μερίς*.
Θεογένης, Aur. Thonius alias, exegetes 3246 6.
Θεόδωρος, alias Chaeremon, late gymnasiarch, prytanis, and councillor, f. of Aurelian Eutropia 3255 3.
Θεόδωρος, f. of . . . 3249 10.
Θεόδωρος, f. of . . . chotes 3249 8.
Θέων 3251 13.
Θέων, Aur., alias Maximus, prytanis 3244 1-3.
Θέων, Aur., s. of Theon, m. Diogenis 3244 23-5, 38-9.
Θέων, f. of Aur. Leonides [3254 5] 3256 4 3257 4 3258 5 3259 7 3260 4.
Θέων, f. of Aur. Theon, h. of Diogenis 3244 24.
Θέων, *μηνιάρχης* 3261 3.
Θώνιος, Aur., alias Theogenes, exegetes 3246 6.
Θώνιος, Aur., public doctor 3245 6.
Θώνιος, f. of Comon 3262 1.
Θώνιος, s. of Philaeus 3249 8.
Θώνιος Νέος καλούμενος 3257 8.
- **Ἰούνιος Ἐστιαῖος*, strategus 3240 8.
**Ἰσίδωρος*, (Aur.) Calpurnius, alias Harpocraton, strategus (Arsinoite; departments of Themistes and Polemon) 3243 1 2 3263 1-3.
- Καῖσαρ* *see* Index III, Index IV (A.D. 297); (A.D. 318); (A.D. 319); (A.D. 326).
Καλλιόπη, m. (or alias) of *Πρεμι* [slave [3241 21-2?]].
Καλπούρνιος Ἰσίδωρος ὁ καὶ Ἄρποκρατίων, strategus (Arsinoite, departments of Themistes and Polemon) 3243 1 2 3263 1-3 (+ Aur.).
Κανωπίων, f. of Claudia Heliodora, former hypomnematographus ἀπὸ στεφάνου 3246 7.
Κλαυδι [3247 8.
Κλαυδία Ἡλιοδώρα, d. of Canopion, former hypomnematographus ἀπὸ στεφάνου 3246 7.
Κλαύδιος Ἡράκλειος, strategus 3264 7-8.
Κόμων, s. of Thonius 3262 1.
Κοπρέυς, f. of Aur. Ammonius 3257 4.
Κοπρέυς, f. of Aur. Eustochius, systates 3249 5.
Κορνήλιος; M. Cornelius Torullus, centurion 3250 2.
Κρίσπος *see* Index IV (A.D. 318).
Κωνσταντίνος *see* Index IV (A.D. 312-15); (A.D. 315); (A.D. 319); (A.D. 326).
Κωνσταντίνος *see* Index III s.v. Diocletian and Maximian, Constantius, and Galerius; Index IV (A.D. 326).
- Λεοντεύς*, f. of Aur. Eulogius, h. of Eusebia 3266 6.
Λευκάδιος, Flavius, logistes 3249 4 [3265 4].
Λεωνίδης, Aur., s. of Theon 3254 5 3256 3 3257 4 3258 5 3259 7 3260 4, 14 3261 3 3262 1, 7.
Λικίνιος *see* Index IV (A.D. 312-15); (A.D. 315); (A.D. 319).
Λικίνιος *see* Index III s.v. Valerian, Gallienus, (and Valerian or Saloninus Caesar); Index IV (A.D. 318).
Λογγεῖνος, f. of Sarapion 3242 3.
Λούκιος *see* Index III s.v. Marcus Aurelius and Verus.
Λου [..]υ (gen.) 3253 17.
- Μ* . . . , *μηνιάρχης* 3261 3.
Μαξιμιανός *see* Index III s.v. Diocletian and Maximian, Constantius, and Galerius; Index IV (A.D. 297).
Μάξιμος, Aur. Theon alias, prytanis 3244 1-3.
Μάρκος *see* *Κορνήλιος*; *see also* Index III s.v. Marcus Aurelius and Verus, Severus Alexander.
Ματρῖνος, Valerius 3257 3, 18.
Μέττιος Ροῦφος *praef. Aeg.* 3240 8.
Μόνιμος *see* Index VII(b) s.v. *Μονίμων*.

- Νέος, Θώνιος καλούμενος* 3257 8.
Νικόβιος see Index VII(c) s.v. *Νικοβίου κληρος*.
Νορβανός; C. Norbanus Ptolemaeus 3250 4.
- Ὀρρενοῦφισ*, s. of Dioscorus 3264 3.
Οὔαλεριανός see Index III s.v. Valerian, Gallienus, (and Valerian or Saloninus Caesar).
Οὔαλέριος, f. of . . . 3257 3.
Οὔαλέριος Ματρίνος 3257 18.
Οὔέγετος, praef. Aeg. 3240 10.
Οὔεσπασιανός see Index III s.vv. Vespasian, Titus.
Οὔήρος see Index III s.v. Marcus Aurelius and Verus.
- Παγένης* 3253 2, 9, 15.
Πανάρης 3255 10.
Παρίων 3249 7.
Παρίων 3247 7.
Παταρεύς [3245 12?].
Πεννᾶμις, s. of Amenneus 3264 4.
Πετεαρποκράτης, f. of Aur. Hatres, h. of Tanneis 3252 6.
Πολέμων see Index VII(a) s.v. *Πολέμωνος μερίς*.
Πολύτιμος, slave of C. Norbanus Ptolemaeus 3250 4, 13, 26, 27, 29.
Πομπώνιος Φανστιανός, praef. Aeg. 3242 4-5.
Ποσειδίππος see Index VII(c) s.v. *Ποσειδίππου κληρος*.
Ποσειδίππος see Index VII(c) s.v. *Ποσειδίππου κληρος*.
Πούπλιος see Index III s.v. Valerian, Gallienus, (and Valerian or Saloninus Caesar).
Πρεμι[, slave, d. of Calliope or alias C.? 3241 4, 21.
Πτολ[3255 27.
Πτολεμαῖος, Aur., s. of Dionysius alias Artemidorus 3245 9.
Πτολεμαῖος, s. of Silvanus 3249 9.
Πτολεμαῖος, C. Norbanus 3250 4.
- Ῥοῦφος*, Mettius, *praef. Aeg.* 3240 8.
- Σαβινιανός, praeses* of Herculia 3261 9.
Σαραπίας, alias Thamunion, m. of Dionysia, Antinoite 3242 2.
Σαραπίων, Aur., alias Didymus, (ex-?) gymnasiarch 3252 1-4.
Σαραπίων, Aur. Heron alias, ex-logistes, former gymnasiarch and prytanis 3266 1-2.
Σαραπίων, Aur. Horion alias, former hypomnematographus, ex-prytanis, gymnasiarch 3246 5.
Σαραπίων, Aur., s. of Achilles, m. Dieus, *μεταβόλος* 3244 5-7, 33-4.
Σαραπίων, f. of Thea . . . 3241 1, 16.
- Σαραπίων*, s. of Andronicus 3242 19.
Σαραπίων, s. of Apollonius, *φροντιστής* 3241 2, 10, 17, 24.
Σαραπίων, s. of Longinus 3242 3.
Σαρμάτης, μηνιάρχης 3261 4.
Σεβαστός see Index III s.vv. Titus, Domitian, Marcus Aurelius and Verus, Caracalla, Severus Alexander, Diocletian and Maximian, Constantius, and Galerius; Index IV (A.D. 297); (A.D. 312-15); (A.D. 315); (A.D. 318); Index V; Index XI(b) s.v. *νόμισμα*.
Σεουήρος see Index III s.vv. Caracalla, Severus Alexander.
Σεπίμιος see *Αὔρηλιος Σεπίμιος Ἡράκλειτος*.
Σερήνος, Aur. Apollonius alias, s. of Apollonius 3259 4-5.
Σεύθης, Aur., alias Horion, gymnasiarch 3246 6.
Σιλβανός, f. of Ptolemaeus 3249 9.
- Τάννεις*, m. of Aur. Hatres, w. of Peteharpocrates 3252 7.
Τεχωσοῦς, alias Eudaemonis, d. of Didymus alias Eudaemon (ex-?) gymnasiarch, councillor 3246 8.
Τιμόθεος, s. of Eulogius 3249 8.
Τιτιανός, Fabius see Index IV (A.D. 337).
Τίτος see Index III s.v. Titus.
Τοροῦλλος, M. Cornelius, centurion 3250 2-3.
- Φάβιος Τιτιανός* see Index IV (A.D. 337).
Φανστιανός, Pomponius, *praef. Aeg.* 3242 4-5.
Φιλαῖος, f. of Thonius 3249 9.
Φιλικιανός, Flavius see Index IV (A.D. 337).
Φλάουιος 3240 2.
Φλάουιος Ἄννιανός, protector 3266 4.
Φλάουιος Ἡρακλείδης, ex-strategus 3240 10.
Φλάουιος Λευκάδιος, logistes 3249 4 [3265 4].
Φλάουιος Φιλικιανός see Index IV (A.D. 337).
- Χαιρήμων*, Theodorus alias, late gymnasiarch, prytanis, and councillor, f. of Aurelia Eutropia 3255 3.
- Ψενμείνις*, f. of Psozneus 3264 4.
Ψοενός, s. of Psenminis 3264 3.
- Ὠρίων* 3253 1.
Ὠρίων, Aur., alias Sarapion, former hypomnematographus, ex-prytanis, gymnasiarch, 3246 5.
Ὠρίων, Aur. Seuthes alias, gymnasiarch 3246 6.
- . . . ὄη, d. of Dionysius 3245 25.

VII. GEOGRAPHICAL

(a) COUNTRIES, NOMES, TOPARCHIES, CITIES, ETC.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p> <i>Ἀλεξάνδρεια</i> [3241 23].
 <i>Ἀλεξανδρείς, ἡ λαμπροτάτη πόλις τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων</i> 3245 4.
 <i>Ἀντινοίς</i> 3242 2.
 <i>ἄνω τοπαρχία</i> 3242 6.
 <i>Ἀρσινοΐτης</i> (nome) 3243¹ 3 3263 2.
 <i>Ἀφροδιτοπολίτης</i> (nome) 3252 9-10.
 <i>Γερμανικός</i> <i>see</i> Index III s.v. Domitian.
 <i>Ερμοπολίτης</i> (nome) 3250 1, 6, 18, 25.
 <i>Θεμίςτου μερίς</i> 3243¹ 3-4 3263 3.
 <i>Θηβαίς</i> 3243¹ 12, [2 7?] 3247 19. </p> | <p> <i>μέση τοπαρχία</i> 3264 6.
 <i>Ὀξυρυγχίτης</i> (nome) 3240 8 3246 4 [3249 4] 3250 9, 25 [3254 4] 3259 5? (3260 3) 3265 9.
 <i>Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλις</i> 3244 3, 7 3245 5, (11) 3246 9 3249 11 3252 4 3254 6 3255 4 3256 2 3257 5 3258 3 3259 6 3260 5 3265 6 3266 4.
 <i>Ὀξυρύγχων</i> (πόλις) 3241 1, [16] 3242 3 3251 2-3.
 <i>πάγος</i> [3254 4] (η') 3260 3 (ς').
 <i>Πέρσης</i> (τῆς ἐπιγονῆς) 3250 2.
 <i>Πολέμωνος μερίς</i> 3243¹ 3-4 3263 3. </p> |
|--|---|

(b) VILLAGES, ETC.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p> <i>Ἀγανθῶν</i> <i>see</i> Ἀκανθῶν.
 <i>Ἀκανθῶν</i> 3250 9, 28 (Ἀγανθῶνος).
 <i>Ἀντιπέρα Πέλα</i> 3256 7 3258 7 3259 9 3260 8.
 <i>Ἀπόλλωνος πόλις</i> (Arsinoite) 3263 5, 13.
 <i>Ἴσειον Παγγᾶ</i> 3255 8 3257 7.
 <i>Λιλή</i> 3250 9, 27.
 <i>Μέρμερθα</i> 3247 5.
 <i>Μονίμου</i> (ἐποίκιον) 3242 23 3244 17. </p> | <p> <i>Πεεννώ</i> 3264 6.
 <i>Πέλα</i> <i>see</i> Ἀντιπέρα Πέλα.
 <i>Σκώ</i> 3242 6, 21.
 <i>Τῆς</i> 3254 4.
 <i>Τμουνεψή</i> (Aphroditopolite) 3252 8.
 <i>Ἵφαντῶν</i> 3250 1.
 <i>Χουτῆ</i> (ἐποίκιον) 3260 3.
 <i>Ψιντεώ</i> (Arsinoite) 3263 6, 13. </p> |
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(c) MISCELLANEOUS

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p> <i>Ἀπολλωνίου κλῆρος</i> 3242 6.
 <i>Κλαυδιανὰ μέταλλα</i> 3243¹ 14.
 <i>Νέελα</i> (περίχωμα) 3257 7.
 <i>Νικοβίου κλῆρος</i> 3256 7.
 <i>Πέκτυ</i> (περίχωμα) 3255 9. </p> | <p> <i>Πορφυρικὰ καὶ Κλαυδιανὰ μέταλλα</i> 3243¹ 14.
 <i>Ποσειδίππου κλῆρος</i> 3242 21.
 <i>Πρωτολε.</i> 3259 9 (ἐν . . . Π. λεγομένου, <i>sic</i>).
 <i>Τέλκε</i> (τόπος Τ. καλούμενος) 3255 9. </p> |
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VIII. RELIGION

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p> <i>Ἀδριανεῖον</i> 3249 12 3251 5.
 <i>Ἀθηναῖον</i> <i>see</i> Index XI(a) s.v. μέτρον Ἀθηναίου.
 <i>ἀρχιερατεῦειν</i> 3251 3.
 <i>ἀρχιερεῖς</i> 3263 10.
 <i>θεωρία</i> 3248 5.
 <i>ιερός</i> 3248 3, 13. </p> | <p> <i>Καπιτωλιακός</i> [3248 4?].
 <i>σεβάσμιος</i> 3251 4.
 <i>Σεβαστεῖον</i> 3248 2.
 <i>Κουχεῖον</i> 3244 40?
 <i>τύχη</i> (<i>genius</i>) 3244 12 3264 30. </p> |
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IX. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES

- ἄμφοδον 3249 7.
 βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς 3242 1.
 βουλευτήριον 3248 11.
 βουλευτής 3245 [4], (4) 3246 9 [3255 4].
 βουλή 3248 10.
 γυμ(νασιαρχ-) 3244 2 3245 4 3246 9 3252 3.
 γυμνασιαρχεῖν (3255 4) 3256 2.
 γυμνασίαρχος 3246 6.
 διέπων καὶ τὰ πολιτικά 3244 3-4.
 δοῦξ 3261 10.
 ἐγκυκλιῶνης 3241 3, 18-19.
 ἑκατοντάρχη (οἱ -οι) 3250 3.
 ἐξηγητής 3246 7 3248 12.
 ἑπαρχος 3247 21.
 ἐπιτροπή 3263 10.
 ἡγεμῶν 3242 5 3243¹ 2, 5 (all *praefectus Aegypti*)
 3261 8 (*praeses Herculiae*).
 ἰατρός, δημόσιος ἰ. 3245 7.
 ἴδιος λόγος 3263 9.
 καταλογεῖον [3241 23].
 κράτιστος 3240 10.
 κωμογραμματεὺς 3263 5.
 λειτουργεῖν 3249 6.
 λειτουργία 3249 11.
 λογιστής 3249 4 [3256 1?] 3265 4.
 νεόλεκτος 3261 7.
 ὀφ(κιάλιος) ἐπάρχου 3247 21.
 πρεσβύτερος 3264 5.
 πριουάτη 3247 3.
 πρυτανεύειν 3246 5 [3255 3] 3256 2.
 πρύτανις 3244 3 3245 5.
 πρωτήκτωρ 3266 5.
 στέφανος, ἀπὸ στεφάνου 3246 7-8.
 στρατεύμα 3243¹ 12.
 στρατηγεῖν 3240 11.
 στρατηγός (3240 8) (3242 1) 3243¹ 3, 6 3246 4,
 10 (3259 5?) (3263 2) 3264 8, 22.
 στρατιώτης 3247 16.
 στρατιωτικὸς 3243² 5.
 συμπρεσβύτερος 3264 9.
 συστάτης [3249 5].
 τάξις 3245 8 3247 4.
 τίρων 3261 6, 17.
 ὑπηρέτης 3245 8, 15.
 ὑπομνηματογράφος (3245 3) (3246 5, 7).
 φυλή 3249 6.
 χωματεπιμελητής 3264 10.

X. PROFESSIONS, TRADES, AND OCCUPATIONS

- ἄγροφύλαξ 3253 12.
 ἄλιεύς 3244 18.
 κυβερνήτης 3250 2.
 μεταβόλος 3244 7.
 μημάρχη 3261 4 3262 1.
 ναύτης 3250 22.
 πραγματευτής 3266 5.
 σιππ- 3262 1.
 ὑελοργός 3265 5.
 φροντιστής 3241 2, 11, [17], 25.

XI. MEASURES

(a) WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

- ἄρουρα 3240 11 3247 9 [3254 23-4] 3255 10, 11, [13] 3256 8, 9, 11, 11 3257 7, 9 3260 8.
 (ἄρουρα) 3242 8, 9, 12, 15, 17, 22 3260 8.
 ἀρτάβη 3250 3, 7, 8, 8, 10 3251 8, 8.
 (κεντηνάριον) 3265 13, 14, 15, 16.
 μέτρον 3243¹ 11, ³ 3 3250 28 3251 12.
 μέτρον Ἀθηναίου 3250 7.
 μέτρον παραλημπτικόν 3251 12-13.
 μόδιος 3262 6.
 ξέστης 3247 12.

(b) MONEY

- δραχμή 3241 7, 8, 9 3250 11, 11, 13, 14 3251 9 3252 20 3257 10 3266 18.
 (δραχμή) 3241 7, 8, 9 3264 12.
 νόμισμα, Σεβαστῶν ν. 3254 13 3266 7-8.
 τάλαντον 3254 25 3255 13 3257 9 (3265 15, 16) 3266 8, (8), 12, 18.

XII. TAXES

ἀννώνα [3257 11].
 δημόσια 3255 18 3257 11 [3260 16].
 ἐγκυκλιακόν 3241 6.
 ἐπικλασμός 3254 20.

ἐπιμερισμός [3254 20].
 πενταναυβία 3264 14.
 προπρατικόν 3241 8.
 τέλεσμα, δημόσια τελέσματα 3254 19-20, 26.

XIII. GENERAL INDEX OF WORDS

ἀγαθός *see* ἄριστος.
 ἀγρόδρον *see* ἀκρόδρον.
 ἀγροφύλαξ *see* Index X.
 ἀγωγή 3250 3.
 αἰρεῖν 3250 6 3251 21 3266 9.
 ἀκίνδυνος 3255 17 [3256 19] 3257 10 3260 15
 3266 13.
 ἀκρόδρον 3242 7 (αγρ- παρ.).
 ἀλιεύς *see* Index X.
 ἀλλά 3247 8 3253 11.
 ἀλληλέγγυος 3251 19 3257 16.
 ἀλλήλων 3250 10 [3254 11].
 ἄλλος 3240 8 3249 7 3264 5, 16, 24.
 ἄμπελος 3242 7, (12), 19, 20.
 ἄμφοδον *see* Index IX.
 ἀμφότερος 3245 10 3246 6 3247 7 3256 4 3257 4.
 ἄν *see* ἔστ' ἄν.
 ἀνά 3255 13 3257 9.
 ἀνάγειν 3242 13.
 ἀναγκαίως 3265 11.
 ἀναγράφειν 3242 17.
 ἀναλαμβάνειν 3250 18.
 ἀνάλωμα 3256 15 3261 14.
 ἀνάπαυσις 3256 8.
 ἀνάπλους 3250 16, 20.
 ἀναυλί 3250 8.
 ἀναφόριον 3240 9 3264 9, 32.
 ἀνευδεῶς 3244 14.
 ἀνήκειν 3263 8 3265 8-9.
 ἀνήρ 3264 11, 16, 20.
 ἀννώνα *see* Index XII.
 ἀνορμεῖν (?) 3250 23.
 ἀντί 3255 13, 15 3256 9, 14 3260 10 3266 9.
 ἀντίγραφον (3245 25).
 ἀνυπερθέτως 3250 19 3255 23 3257 15 3260 22
 3266 16.
 ἀνυπόλογος 3266 13.
 ἄνω *see* Index VII(a) s.v. ἄνω τοπαρχία.
 ἀπαιτεῖν 3247 10, [12], 13.
 ἀπαξᾶπλῶς 3261 13.
 ἀπεργάζεσθαι 3264 17.
 ἀπέχειν 3254 24.

ἀπηλιώτης (3242 18).
 ἀπλοῦς 3261 20.
 ἀπό 3241 1, 16 3242 3, 8, 10 3243¹ 6, 2 3 3244 7,
 15 3245 6, [10] 3249 10, 13 3250 1, 6, 12
 3251 2, 6 3252 8 3253 6 [3254 3, 5] 3255 6, 8
 3256 1[?], 4, 6, 8, 12 3257 5, 6 3258 3, 5 3259 5[?],
 5, 7 3260 2, 4, 7 3262 2, 2 3264 19 3266 3, [11].
 ἀπογράφεσθαι 3242 3, 20, 23.
 ἀποδεικνύειν 3260 1 3264 31.
 ἀποδιδόναι 3250 15 3251 10, 14 3255 20 3257 14
 3260 21 3266 14.
 ἀπόδοσις 3266 19.
 ἀποκαθιστάειν [3240 16] 3247 4 3250 8.
 ἀποκεῖσθαι 3243¹ 10.
 ἀπολαμβάνειν 3253 7 3255 19 3257 12 3260 19.
 ἀποπλεῖν 3250 19.
 ἀποτίνειν 3250 29.
 ἀπουσία 3247 6.
 ἀποφαίνειν 3264 27.
 *[ἀπο]χιμαῖος? 3247 14.
 ἄραξ 3250 6, 15, 19, 26.
 ἀργυρικός 3255 21 3257 14.
 ἀργύριον 3250 11 3251 9, 17 3252 19 3255 13
 3257 9 3266 7, [12], 17.
 ἀρίθμησις 3254 15.
 ἀριστερός 3245 16.
 ἄριστος 3246 10.
 ἄρουρα *see* Index XI(a).
 ἀρπάζειν 3240 12.
 ἀρτάβη *see* Index XI(a).
 ἀρχαῖος 3242 7.
 ἀρχιερατεύειν *see* Index VIII.
 ἀρχιερεύς *see* Index VIII.
 ἀσφάλεια 3240 6, 13 3250 20.
 ἀσφαλής 3250 24.
 αὐθαιρέτως 3252 12.
 Αὐτοκράτωρ *see* Index III; Index IV (A.D. 297,
 319).
 αὐτός 3240 11, 12 3241 6, 9, 11, [25] 3244 8
 3245 6, 12, 14, 15 [3249 14] 3250 15, 22, 27,
 30 3251 4 3252 19 3253 5, 9, 11, [18], 21
 3255 6 3256 4, 12, 12, 17 3257 7, 15 3258 5

- 3259 7 3260 31 3261 11, 17 3262 7 3264 11, 13, 15, 23, 24 3266 15.
 (αὐτός) 3242 11, 21 3244 4, 25.
 ἀφιέναι 3253 7, 13.
 ἀφορίζειν 3240 13.
 ἀφορισμός 3240 5.
 ἄχρι 3240 13 3266 19.
- βαλανεῖον 3265 10.
 βασιλικός *see* Index IX.
 βεβαιοῦν 3255 19 3257 13 [3260 19].
 βιβλίδιον 3245 8, 12.
 βορρᾶς 3242 19.
 βούλεσθαι 3240 14.
 βουλευτής *see* Index IX.
- γειτών 3240 12 3242 17, 22.
 γένος 3251 12, 16.
 γεοῦχος 3255 18 3256 10, 12 3257 12.
 γεωμετρία [3255 11] 3257 7.
 γεωργεῖν 3251 7.
 γεωργία [3255 16] 3256 14.
 γῆ [3255 18] [3256 19] 3257 11 3260 16, 29.
 γίνεσθαι 3240 15 3241 8 3243 1 15 3245 3 3246 5, 7 3250 17 3251 18 3253 5 3255 23 3257 15 3260 22 3262 6, 6 3266 19.
 (γίνεσθαι) 3241 7, 8, 9 [3255 3] 3260 8 3265 16, 16.
 γράμμα [3241 12] 3243 1 5, 9 3247 14 3251 21 3253 21 3260 31 3261 20.
 γραμματεὺς *see* Index IX s.v. βασιλικὸς γ.
 γράφειν 3240 10 3241 12 3251 21 [3254 21-2] [3260 30] 3261 20 3266 22.
 γυμ(νασι)αρχ- *see* Index IX.
 γυμνασιαρχεῖν *see* Index IX.
 γυμνασίαρχος *see* Index IX.
- δαπάνη 3243 2 6?
 δαπάνημα 3243 3 4.
 δέ 3240 13 3244 22 3249 17 3250 14, 25 3251 12, 14, 17 3252 18 3255 [13], 15, 20, 21 3257 13 3260 12, 20, 24? 3262 6 3264 26, 34 [3265 12] 3266 16.
 δέκα 3241 8 3250 8 3266 12.
 δεκαέξ 3266 18.
 δεκαέπτα 3255 10.
 δεκατρεῖς 3256 9 3264 20.
 δεξιός [3245 15].
 δεσπότης 3243 1 5 3249 1 3254 1 3255 1 3257 1 3258 1 3259 1 3265 1.
 δεύτερος 3243 1 7.
 δηλοῦν 3242 10, 12 3243 1 10 3250 5 3251 14 3263 7 3264 19, 32.
 δημόσιος 3242 10, 12, 16 3249 12 [3254 19] 3264 1 3 3265 10 *see also* Index IX s.v. *ιατρός*; Index XII s.v. *δημόσια*.
 δημοσίως [3241 22?].
 διά 3240 5, 9 3241 [2], 23 3242 3, 10, 12, 16 3245 7 3255 27 3257 [3], 19 3261 11, 18 3264 31 3265 6 3266 5, 7.
 διαγράφειν 3241 4.
 διάθεσις 3245 13.
 διάσημος 3261 7, 9.
 διασκεπάζειν 3264 15.
 διατροφή 3253 19.
 διαφέρειν 3261 17.
 διάφορον 3251 16.
 διάψιλος 3242 12, 14.
 δίδοναι 3249 11 3253 9, 18 3264 22.
 διελθεῖν 3263 12.
 διέπειν *see* Index IX s.v. *διέπων*.
 διέραμα 3250 24.
 διϊστάναι 3250 10.
 (δίμοιρος) 3242 8, 12, 15, 21.
 διςσός 3251 21 3266 22.
 δοκιμάζειν 3253 8.
 δούλη 3241 5, 21.
 δούλος 3252 14.
 δοῦξ *see* Index IX.
 δραχμή *see* Index XI(b).
 δραχμαῖος 3251 17.
 δύνασθαι 3264 30.
 δύο 3241 7, 9 3250 8, 14 3257 14 3262 3.
 δώδεκα 3251 10 3256 11.
- ἐάν 3245 13 3250 6, 28 3251 13, 20 3253 5
 ἑαυτοῦ 3250 20.
 ἑβδομήκοντα 3250 13.
 ἐγβαίνειν *see* ἐκβαίνειν.
 ἐγβολή *see* ἐκβολή.
 ἐγγράπτως 3264 21.
 ἐγγράφειν [3245 11-12] 3249 16.
 ἐγγράφως 3245 13.
 ἐγγυᾶν 3252 13 3261 11.
 ἐγγυητής 3244 23, 38.
 ἔγγυος (3244 41).
 ἐγκυκλιακόν *see* Index XII.
 ἐγκυκλιώτης *see* Index IX.
 ἐγώ 3240 9 3241 5 3242 5, 9, 16, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, [23] 3243 1 6, 8 3245 1, 18 [19] 3246 2 3247 3 3249 1 3251 19, 20 3253 2, 21 3254 [1], 10 3255 [1], 15, [20], 24, 27 3256 13 3257 1, 13, 16, 19 3258 1 3259 1 3260 12, 14, 23 3261 8, 16, 21 3262 4, 6 3264 8, 33 3265 1, 6 3266 9, 20, 21.
 ἔδαφος [3240 16] 3251 7.
 εἰ 3240 14 3252 18 3266 16.
 εἰδέναι 3260 32 3265 12.

- εἰκάς 3250 16.
 εἴκοσι 3247 8, 11 3250 11 3256 8.
 εἰκοστός 3243¹ 7.
 εἶναι 3241 7 3242 8, 9, 15 3244 16, 21 3246 10
 3247 6 3248 3, 13, 14? 3249 16, 17 3250 11,
 23, 26, 29 3251 19 3255 11, 18 3256 8 3257
 8, 11, 16 3260 17 3261 1 3264 34 3265 12
 3266 13.
 εἶς 3243¹ 9, 12, 13, 15, 4 1 3244 19 3247 13
 3249 11 3250 5, 9 3251 20 3253 10, 19 [3254
 18] 3255 12 3256 9 3257 8, 16 3260 9 3264
 12, 13, 17, [25] 3265 9, 13, 14 3266 6.
 εἶς 3249 13 3250 16 3254 24 3256 11 3264 12.
 εἰσέναι 3252 17 3266 11, 15.
 ἐκ 3242 6, 11, 21 3245 8 3248 5? 3250 29 3251
 17, 19, 20 3255 [11], 17 3256 7, 18 3257 7
 3264 12 3266 7, 20.
 ἕκαστος 3240 15 3247 11 3250 23, 30 3255 13
 3257 9 3261 14 3266 10, 17.
 ἐκότερος 3243² 3.
 ἐκατόν 3247 20 3250 7, 10, 11 3251 9.
 ἐκατοντάρχης (οἱ -οι) *see* Index IX.
 ἐκβαίνειν 3250 28 3255 14.
 ἐκβολή 3250 15.
 ἐκουσίως 3252 11 3255 7 3256 5 3257 5 3258 6.
 ἔκτεισις 3251 20 3257 16.
 ἐκτιθέναι 3247 9.
 ἐκτίνειν 3252 18 3266 16.
 ἐκφόριον 3251 6 3255 21, 22.
 ἐλευθεροῦν 3241 5.
 ἐλευθέρωσις 3241 6.
 ἐμαυτοῦ 3244 22.
 ἐμβάλλειν 3250 5.
 ἐμμέλεια 3265 12.
 ἐμός 3247 6.
 ἐν 3241 7, 23 3242 7, 9, 10, 13, 17 3243¹ 9, 12, 2 6?
 3244 19 3245 14 3246 10 3248 2 3250 20
 3251 4 3253 16 3255 9, 9 3256 8, [10] 3257
 7, 14 3259 9 3260 7, [21].
 ἐναντίος 3264 34.
 ἔναρχος 3244 2 3245 4.
 ἔνατος 3254 9.
 ἐνγράφως *see* ἐγγράφως.
 ἐνγηγητής *see* ἐγγηγητής.
 ἐγγυος *see* ἔγγυος.
 ἐνδέκατος 3251 12.
 ἐνιαυτός 3249 12.
 ἐνιστάναι 3249 15 3250 17 3251 11 [3254 20] 3255
 8, 23 3256 6 3257 6 3258 6-7 3259 8 3260 6.
 ἐννέα 3251 8 3264 16.
 ἐνοχος 3244 21.
 ἐντάσσειν 3265 11.
 ἐντελής 3250 21.
 ἐντεῦθεν [3254 7].
- ἐντυγχάνειν 3240 9.
 ἔξ 3255 11 3256 8.
 ἐξάιρετος 3256 10.
 ἐξακόσιοι 3247 12.
 ἐξείναι 3250 22.
 ἐξέρετος *see* ἐξάιρετος.
 ἐξηγητής *see* Index IX.
 ἐξήκοντα 3241 9 3250 14.
 ἐξῆς 3261 2 3266 11.
 ἐπάγειν *see* Index V s.v. ἐπαγόμεναι.
 ἐπάναγκες 3255 20 3257 13 [3260 20] 3266 14.
 ἔπαρχος *see* Index IX.
 ἐπειδή 3261 5.
 ἐπερωτῶν 3252 23 (3254 22) 3255 25 3257 17
 3260 26 3261 21 3266 22.
 ἐπί 3240 15 [3241 9] 3243¹ 15 3244 16 3245 1,
 14, 15, 16, 22 3249 12 3250 13, 15, 18, 24, 27
 3254 16 3255 22 3256 9 3260 9 3261 15, 19,
 20 3266 9.
 ἐπιβάλλειν 3242 15 3261 5.
 ἐπιγονή *see* Index VII(a) s.v. Πέρσης τῆς ἐ.
 ἐπιγράφειν (3242 8).
 ἐπιδεικνύναι 3253 20.
 ἐπιδέχεσθαι 3255 7 3256 5 3257 5 3258 6.
 ἐπιδιδόναι 3241 26 [3245 8-9] 3264 7 3265 11,
 19.
 ἐπιδοχή 3255 20, 24 3257 13, 17.
 ἐπιζητεῖν 3264 17, 25 3265 7.
 ἐπικερδεία 3266 10.
 ἐπικλασμός *see* Index XII.
 ἐπιμερισμός *see* Index XII.
 ἐπιორκεῖν 3264 34.
 ἐπισκευή [3265 9-10].
 ἐπιστολή [3243² 8].
 ἐπιτελεῖν 3248 7.
 ἐπιτήδειος [3249 16].
 ἐπιτρέπειν 3245 7.
 ἐπιτροπή *see* Index IX.
 ἐπιφανής *see* Index III s.v. Diocletian and Maxi-
 mian, Constantius, and Galerius; Index IV
 (A.D. 297); (A.D. 318); (A.D. 319); (A.D. 326).
 ἐπιφέρειν 3251 22.
 ἐποίκιον 3244 18 3253 17 3260 3 *see also* Index
 VII(b) s.vv. Μονίμου ἐ., Χουτῆ ἐ.
 ἐπτά 3254 25.
 ἐπτακόσιοι 3252 21.
 ἐργάζεσθαι 3244 19 3264 13, 25.
 ἔστ' ἄν 3253 8, 14.
 ἕτερος 3243¹ 6 3256 11.
 ἔτι 3243¹ 15 3249 13.
 ἐτοῖμος 3250 16.
 ἔτος 3241 12, 26 3243¹ 7 3249 15 3251 12 3254
 21 3255 8, 23 3257 15 3260 6 3266 15.
 (ἔτος) 3240 6, 16 3242 10, 11 3243¹ ii 15 3244

- 27 3245 18, 18, 19 3246 2 3247 17 3252 17, 25
3259 8 3262 7 3263 12 3264 35 3266 11.
εἶ 3264 34.
εὐδοκεῖν 3244 26 3261 24.
εὐορκεῖν 3264 33.
Εὐσεβής *see* Index III s.vv. Caracalla, Severus
Alexander.
Εὐτυχής *see* Index III s.vv. Caracalla, Severus
Alexander.
εὐχεσθαι 3253 22.
ἐφορᾶν 3245 11, 14.
ἔχειν 3241 10 3245 15 3250 12 3255 28 3256 10,
11 3257 19 3260 7, 10, [13], 29 3262 4, 4, 5
3263 7 3265 12 3266 6.
ἕως [3249 13] 3255 19 3257 12 [3260 18].
- ἦ 3244 21 3250 27, 29 3251 20.
ἡγεμών *see* Index IX.
ἦδη [3243¹ 11].
ἡμέρα 3243¹ 9 3250 23.
ἡμέτερος 3265 9.
ἡμίσεια [3255 12, 14].
ἡμις (3242 8, 14, 17) 3250 8 3255 14, 16 3256
12, 17 3262 3.
- θέατρον 3248 6.
θερμά 3265 10, 13.
θεωρία *see* Index VIII.
θησαυρός 3243¹ 10.
θυγάτηρ 3245 26 3246 7, 8 3255 3.
θύρα 3249 12.
- ιατρός *see* Index IX.
ἴδιος [3240 16] 3254 19 *see also* Index IX s.v.
ἴδιος λόγος.
ἱερός *see* Index VIII.
ἱκανός 3250 22.
ἵνα 3240 12 3247 15 3265 12.
ἵσον 3255 28 3257 19 3260 29.
ἰστάναι 3252 21.
ἰχθύς 3244 15.
- καθήκειν 3255 24 3257 16 [3260 23].
καιρός 3256 16 (κερου) 3260 22.
καλαμεία 3242 7.
καλεῖν 3255 9 3257 8.
καρπός 3243¹ 7 3254 8, [23] [3255 19] 3257 12
3260 18
κατά 3240 5, [12] 3242 4 3247 6 3250 23 3255 10
3261 7, 9, 12, 15 3264 9 3266 10, 17.
κατακελεύειν 3247 16.
καταλαμβάνειν 3245 13 3253 5.
καταλογεῖν *see* Index IX.
κατάπλους 3250 21.
- κατασπορά 3253 3.
κατεπέγειν 3247 14.
κελεύειν 3242 4.
κέλευσις 3261 7.
κεντηνάριον *see* Index XI(a).
κεράμιον 3247 11, 18, 20, 21.
κερός *see* καιρός.
κεφάλαιον 3266 8, 12, 19.
κηδεμών 3257 3.
κίνδυνος [3255 17] 3256 19 3257 10 3260 16
3266 13.
κληρονόμος 3257 3.
κλήρος *see* Index VII(c) s.vv. Ἀπολλωνίου κ.
Νικοβίου κ., Ποσειδίππου κ.
κοίλη 3250 29.
κοινόν [3265 5].
κοινωνία 3254 10 3255 10.
κοινωνός 3242 16, 18, 23 3246 10.
κομίζειν 3243¹ 9.
κράτιστος *see* Index IX.
κρίνειν 3253 14.
κτηῆνος 3243¹ 12.
κτηῆσθαι [3246 10?].
κυβερνήτης *see* Index X.
κυκλευτήριον 3242 14.
κυριεύειν 3255 18 3257 12 3260 18.
κύριος (lord) 3243¹ 7 3244 12 3245 1, 18, 19
3246 2 3247 3.
κύριος (valid) 3251 21 3255 24 3257 16 3260 25
3261 19 3266 21.
κάμη 3242 6 3247 5 3252 8 3254 4 3260 7
3264 6.
κωμογραμματεὺς *see* Index IX.
- λαμβάνειν 3243¹ 5 3247 14 3253 12 3264 11.
λαμπρός 3242 5 3243¹ 1 (3245 4, 5, 5, 11, 11)
3246 9, (9) 3249 10, 10 3254 [5], 6 (3255 4, 4)
3256 2, [2] 3257 5, 5 3258 3, 3 3259 5, 6
3260 4, 4 3265 5, 6 3266 2, 4, 4.
λέγειν 3240 9 3259 9.
λειτουργεῖν *see* Index IX.
λειτουργία *see* Index IX.
λίμνη 3255 22 (λιμνου).
λινοκαλάμη 3254 8, 24 3255 12, 15, 22 3256 9,
10, 13, 16 3257 8 3260 9, 12.
λινόσπερμον 3255 17.
λειτουργεῖν *see* Index IX s.v. λειτουργεῖν.
λίψ 3242 20.
λογαρίδιον 3253 2, 6.
λογιστής *see* Index IX.
λόγος 3242 10, 13, 17 3253 10 3262 2, 4, 6
[3265 8] 3266 6 *see also* Index IX s.v. ἴδιος
λόγος.
λοιπογραφεῖν 3243¹ 8.

- λοιπός 3250 14 3255 [14], 16 3256 17 3260 13
3264 26.
λουτρόν 3265 13.
- μάλιστα 3253 17.
μανθάνειν 3253 17.
μεικρός *see* μικρός.
μέλλειν 3261 2.
μέμφεσθαι 3244 20.
μέν 3247 11 3251 16 3255 12, 21 3264 33.
μερίς 3243¹ 6 *see also* Index VII(a) s.vv. *Θεμίςτου*
μ., *Πολέμωνος μ.*
μέρος 3242 8, 8, 12, 14, 15, 16, 21 3243³ 2, 5
3255 11, 14, [16] 3256 17 3260 11, [13], 19, 21
3261 15 3266 9.
μέσος *see* Index VII(a) s.v. *μέση τοπαρχία.*
μετά 3250 20 3256 18.
μεταβόλος *see* Index X.
μέταλλον *see* Index VII(c) s.v. *Πορφυριτικά καὶ*
Κλαυδιανὰ μέταλλα.
μεταξύ 3253 4 (*μετοξύ*).
μέτρον *see* Index XI(a).
μέχρι 3251 11 3252 16 3256 16 (*μέχρις*).
μή 3250 22 3251 14 3252 18 3260 32 3264 13,
17, 25 3266 16.
μηδέ 3250 22 3264 23, 24.
μηδεῖς 3240 13, 14 3244 20 3247 15 3263 7
3264 22, 30.
μήν 3244 16 3250 17 3255 21 3257 14 3263 11
3266 10, 11, 15, 17.
μηνιάρχης *see* Index X.
μήτε 3264 23.
μήτηρ 3244 6, 25 3252 7 3266 3.
μικροῦν 3253 2, 9, 15.
μίσθοσιν 3255 7, 15 3256 5, 13 3257 6 3258 6
3259 4 3260 2, 10, 12, 17, 28.
μίσθωσις 3259 11 3260 7, 20, 26, 29.
μόδιος *see* Index XI(a).
μόνος 3255 7 3256 5 3257 6 3258 6 3259 8
3260 5.
- ναῦλον 3247 19 3250 9, 14.
ναυλοῦν 3250 1.
ναυτεία 3250 5.
ναύτης *see* Index X.
νέμειν [3243¹ 10?].
νεόλεκτος *see* Index IX.
νεομηγία 3249 13.
νόμιμος 3248 10.
νόμισμα *see* Index XI(b).
νομός 3250 6 3252 10 [3254 4] 3260 3.
νότος 3242 11, 18.
νυγτοπλοεῖν *see* νυκτοπλοεῖν.
νυκτοπλοεῖν 3250 22.
- νῦν 3247 13 3262 5.
νυνί 3249 6.
- ξέστης *see* Index XI(a).
ξυστός 3265 14.
- ἄγδοος 3255 11, 11.
ἄθεν 3245 14.
οἰκόπεδον 3242 14, 17.
οἶκος 3266 7.
οἶνος 3247 12, 18, 21 3253 12.
ὀκτώ 3250 11, 14.
ὀλίγος 3253 20.
ὀλόκληρος [3255 17] 3256 18.
ὄλος 3242 9.
ὀμνύειν 3244 9.
ὀμνύναι [3244 34] 3264 28.
ὀμοίως 3242 11, 20, 23 3264 16.
ὀμολογεῖν 3250 12 3251 5 3252 11, 24 [3254 6,
22] 3255 25 3257 17 3260 26 3261 12, 22
3266 6, 22.
ὄνομα 3242 9 3264 18, 20, 27.
ὄρκος 3244 21, [35].
ὄρμος 3250 6, 18, 24, 28.
ὄς 3241 9, [20?] 3242 7 3243¹ 9 3245 13 3246
10 3247 8 3250 5, 6, 12, 28 3251 7, 20 3252 15
3253 12 3254 15 3255 11, [15], 16 3256 9, 14,
14 3260 7, 9 3262 2 3264 21.
ὄσος 3244 17.
ὄσπερ 3242 15 3245 17 3251 10 3253 4, 5 3254
14 3265 17.
ὄστε 3254 16.
οὐδεῖς 3248 8, 9 3262 4, 4.
οὐν [3240 14] 3247 11 3250 16 3253 5, 18.
οὐτος 3240 13 3245 14 3247 13, 19, 20 3252 22
3253 7, 14 3255 28 3257 19 3261 12, 15, 19
3264 19 3266 9.
ὀφείλειν 3251 5 3253 8, 10 3255 19 3257 12.
ὀφ(ικιάλιος?) *see* Index IX.
- πάγος *see* Index VII(a).
πανταχῆ 3251 22.
πάντοθεν 3242 22.
παντοῖος 3254 21.
παρά 3242 2 3245 6 3246 5 3249 5 3250 12, 27
3253 7, 13 3255 6, 24 3256 3 3257 4, 16
3258 5 3260 23 3263 4 3264 3, 11 3265 5
3266, 6, 20.
παράδεισος 3242 11, (22).
παραδιδόναι 3243¹ 11 3250 26.
παραδόξος 3259 5?
παραλαμβάνειν 3250 18, 28.
παραλημπτικός *see* Index XI(a) s.v. *μέτρον παρα-*
λημπτικόν.

- παραλημφθικός *see* Index XI(a) s.v. μέτρον παραλημφθικόν.
 παρῆναι 3244 26 [3245 14].
 παρέχειν 3244 22 3250 20 [3255 15] 3256 15 3261 6, 10.
 παριστάναι 3250 15 3252 15.
 πᾶς 3243¹ 10 3246 9 3249 10 3250 20, 21 3251 10 3255 17, 17 3256 15, 19, 19 3257 10, 10 3260 [15], 24? 3261 13, 16 3265 8 3266 13, 14, 21.
 πεινᾶν 3253 16?
 πέμπειν 3253 4.
 πέμπτος 3249 14, [14].
 πεντακόσιοι 3250 4, 7 3266 8.
 πενταναυβία *see* Index XII.
 πέντε 3251 9 3257 8.
 πενήκοντα 3241 7 3264 12.
 περί 3240 11, 14, 20? 3241 20? 3242 5, 21, 23 3245 25 3247, 4, 5 3252 22 3253 14 3254 15 3255 8 3256 7 3257 7 3258 7 3259 9 3260 7 3264 11, 15.
 περιγίγνεσθαι 3256 12, 18 3260 11.
 περιουσία *see* περιουσία.
 περιχώμα 3255 9 (Πέκτυ) 3257 7 (Νέελα).
 περιουσία 3253 3 (περιουσί[ε]).
 πήχυς 3245 15.
 πίνειν 3253 16?
 πιπράσκειν 3254 7, [23].
 πλήγμα [3245 16?].
 ποιείν [3240 14, 15] 3253 18 3255 16 3256 14.
 πόλις [3241 1] 3242 3 3244 (3, 4), 7, 8, 13, (25) 3245 4, 5, 6, 11, 14 3246 9 3249 11 3251 3, 4 (3252 4) [3254 6] 3255 5, [6] 3256 [2], 4 3257 5 3258 4, 5 3259 6, 7 3260 5 3263 5 3265 6, 11 3266 4.
 πολιτικός *see* Index IX s.v. διέπων καὶ τὰ πολιτικά.
 πόκος 3243¹ 11.
 ποτάμιος 3250 3.
 πρᾶγμα 3240 14.
 πραγματεία 3266 7.
 πραγματευτής *see* Index X.
 πρᾶξις 3251 18 3255 24 3257 15 3260 23 3266 20.
 πρεσβύτερος *see* Index IX.
 πριουάτη *see* Index IX.
 πρό 3240 11.
 πρόγονος 3242 9.
 προγράφειν 3241 11, [24] 3264 18.
 προθεσμία 3251 14.
 προκείσθαι 3242 13, 18 [3244 35] 3255 26 (3257 18) 3261 23 3264 31 (3265 18, 20) 3266 12.
 προπρατικόν *see* Index XII.
 πρὸς 3249 12, [16] 3250 10, 16, 25, 26 [3254 11] 3255 7, 18 3256 5 3257 6, 11 3258 6 3259 8 3260 5, 17 3262 4 3264 7.
 πρόσταξις 3261 9.
 προστάσσειν 3243¹ 5.
 προστιθέναι 3243¹ 11.
 προσφωνεῖν 3245 [13], 17 3264 21 3265 17.
 πρότερον 3247 5 3257 8.
 πρότερος 3262 2, 5, 6.
 πρυτανεύειν *see* Index IX.
 πρύτανις *see* Index IX.
 πρωτήκτωρ *see* Index IX.
 πυρός 3251 7.
 ῥωννύναι 3240 16 3253 22.
 σεαυτοῦ 3253 8, 13.
 σεβάσμιος *see* Index VIII.
 σημαίνειν 3263 8.
 σημειοῦν (3262 7).
 σιππ- 3262 1.
 σιτάριον 3253 20.
 σκάφη 3250 3, 5, 16, 21.
 σπέρμα 3255 16 3256 15, 18 3260 15.
 σπορά [3255 12] 3256 9 3257 8 3260 9.
 στέφανος *see* Index IX.
 στρατεύμα *see* Index IX.
 στρατιωτικός *see* Index IX.
 στρατηγεῖν *see* Index IX.
 στρατηγός *see* Index IX.
 στρατιώτης *see* Index IX.
 σὺ 3240 11, 14 3241 4 3243¹ 5, 9, 10 3245 7, 9 3247 15 3251 6, 7, 11, 13, 15, 18 3252 13, 14, 18, 24 3253 4, 22 3254 7 3255 8, 18, 23 3256 7, 10, 12 3257 9, 11, 15 3258 7 3259 9 3260 10, [22] 3261 11 3264 18, 26 3265 [8], 12 3266 6, 7, 9, 10, [15], 16, 20.
 σύμβιος 3247 8.
 σύμβολον 3241 10.
 συμβροχίζειν 3255 22.
 συμβροχισμός 3256 16, 17.
 συμπίθειν 3261 18.
 συμπρεσβύτερος *see* Index IX.
 συμφωνεῖν 3254 11.
 σύμφωνος 3253 6.
 σὺν 3242 12 3250 5 3264 5.
 συνάγειν 3253 13.
 συνευδοκεῖν 3261 16, 18.
 συνηθεῖ 3243¹ 15.
 συστάτης *see* Index IX.
 τάλαντον *see* Index XI(b).
 τάξις *see* Index IX.
 τάσσειν 3251 15.
 τε 3242 16 3243¹ 6, 12, 15 3248 2 3251 6, 19 3255 24 3257 16 3260 23 3264 8 3266 20.
 τελεῖν 3254 19 3255 12 3257 9 3266 10.
 τέλεσμα *see* Index XII.
 τεσσαράκοντα 3250 12 3262 8.

- τέσσαρες 3255 13.
 τέταρτος (3242 8, 9, 15, [16]) 3251 17 3255 [10],
 11.
 τετρακισχίλιοι 3266 18.
 τέχνη [3265 9].
 τιμή 3250 30 [3254 11].
 τίρων *see* Index IX.
 τις 3243³ 3 3253 14, 16 3264 24.
 τίς 3253 8, 10.
 τοίνυν 3246 10.
 τόκος 3251 18.
 τοπαρχία *see* Index VII(a) s.vv. ἄνω τ., μέση τ.
 τόπος 3240 15 3243¹ 15 3250 13 3255 9.
 τραῦμα 3245 16.
 τρεῖς 3247 9 3257 10.
 τριακάς 3251 11.
 τρίτος 3241 12, [26] 3260 11, 19, [21].
 τροφή 3243¹ 12.
 τύχη *see* Index VIII.
- ὑδρευμα 3242 15.
 ὑελουργός *see* Index X.
 υἱός 3259 5 3262 1.
 ὑπάρχειν 3242 5, 20 3255 8 3256 6 3257 6 [3258
 7] 3259 8 3266 20.
 ὑπατεία *see* Index IV (A.D. 312-15); (A.D. 315);
 (A.D. 318); (A.D. 319); (A.D. 324); (A.D. 326);
 (A.D. 337).
 ὑπατος *see* Index IV (A.D. 297); (A.D. 323); (A.D.
 324).
 ὑπέρ 3241 4 3247 8 3252 19 3255 12 3257 9
 3260 31 3264 24.
 ὑπερπίπτειν 3251 15 3266 16-17.
 ὑπηρ[.]. [3245 24].
 ὑπηρετεῖν 3243¹ 13.
 ὑπηρέτης *see* Index IX.
 ὑπό 3240 12 3241 5 3242 4 3245 7, 9 3247 10
 3252 24 3253 11, 19 3264 8.
- ὑπογράφειν 3261 2.
 ὑπογραφή 3261 20.
 ὑπόλογος 3266 14.
 ὑπόμνημα [3241 25].
 ὑπομνηματίζειν [3248 8?, 9?].
 ὑπομνηματογράφος *see* Index IX.
 ὑφιστάναι 3261 14.
- φακός 3251 8.
 φέρειν 3253 3.
 φίλος 3253 1.
 φοῖνιξ 3242 7.
 φόρος 3251 6 3255 12, 13, 20, 21 3256 10 3257
 9, 14 3260 10.
 φορτίον 3247 9.
 φροντιστής *see* Index X.
 φυλή *see* Index IX.
- χαίρειν (3240 8) 3241 4, [19] 3243¹ 4 3251 5
 3253 1 [3254 6] 3261 5 3262 2 3266 6.
 χειμών 3250 23.
 χείρ 3245 16 3262 4 3266 7.
 χειρογραφία 3261 12.
 χειρόγραφον (3244 41) 3266 21.
 χίλιοι 3247 12 3252 20 3257 10.
 χίρ *see* χείρ.
 χιρογραφεία *see* χειρογραφία.
 χορηγεῖν 3244 12.
 χορηγία 3250 21.
 χρ[3254 21.
 χρεία 3243¹ 13 3249 17 3265 9, 13, 14.
 χρόνος 3242 11, 13 3251 16 3266 17.
 χῶμα 3246 10 3264 14, [25].
 χωματεπιμελητής *see* Index IX.
- ὡς [3244 35] 3247 4 3252 21 3253 16 3255 24
 3257 16 [3260 23] 3265 15, 20.
 ὥστε 3245 11 3250 8, 11.

ΚΑΘΟΛΟΓΟΝ
 ΑΝΑΠΟΙΟΝ
 ΑΝΑΡΑΦΟΝ
 ΚΑΘΟΛΟΓΟΝ
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 ΑΝΑΡΑΦΟΝ
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 ΑΝΑΡΑΦΟΝ

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 ΑΝΑΡΑΦΟΝ

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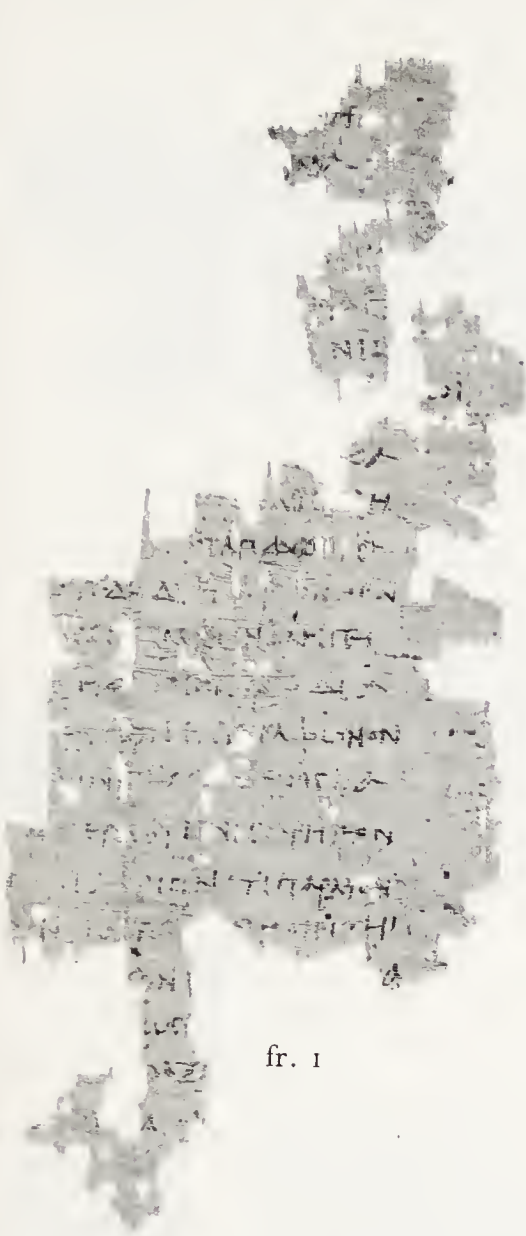
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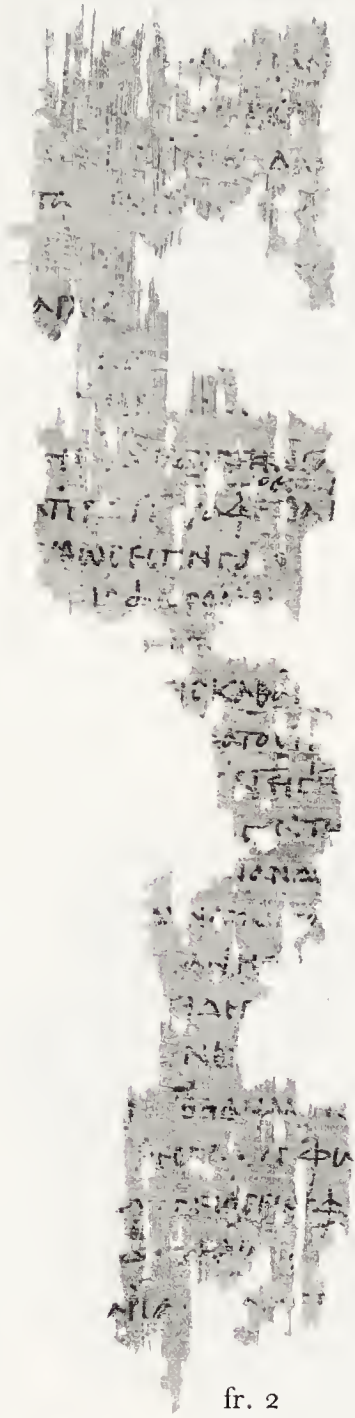
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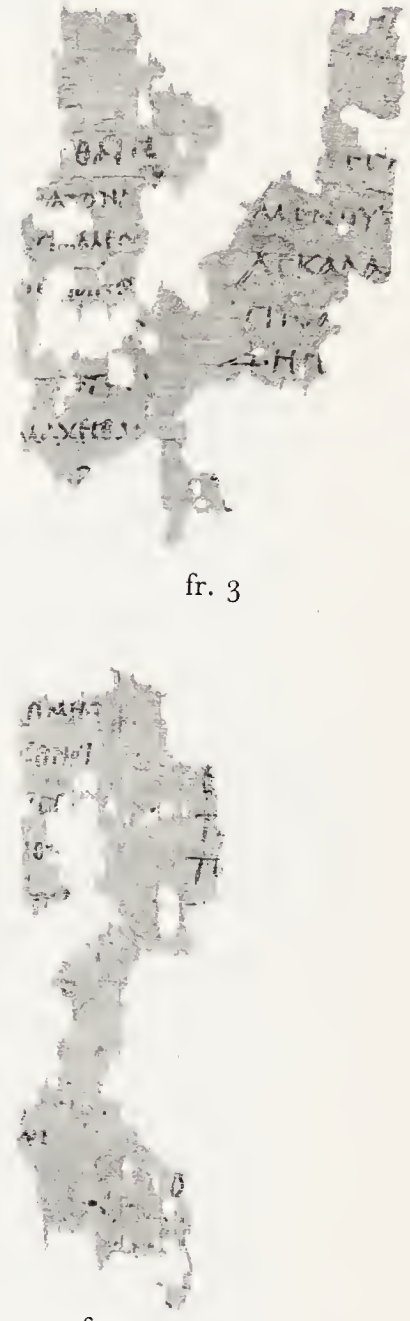
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...ΣΑΙ ΚΑΙΡΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΙ ΤΑ
ΝΑ ΚΑΤΕΟΝΠΟΤΙ
ΟΝΤΩΝ ΕΤΕΩΝ
...ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟ ΑΛΛΑ
...ΤΟ ΗΡΩΟΙΣ
...ΕΓΑΛΕΙΝ
...ΔΩΝ
...ΚΟΣ
...ΑΥΤΗ
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...ΜΑ
...ΡΕCΙΝ
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...ΔΩΝΑΙ
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